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ROYAL OATHS AND DOCTRINAL SUBTERFUGES.

"PHILAGATHARCHES," says the Rev. Sydney Smith, "is an instance of a love of toleration combined with a love of persecution. He is a Dissenter, and earnestly demands religious liberty for that body of men; but as for the Catholics, he would not only continue their present disabilities, but load them with every new one that could be conceived. He expressly says that an Atheist or a Deist may be allowed to propagate their doctrines, but not a Catholic."

The state of opinion in England to-day is precisely the state of mind of Philagartharches. Toleration is the boast of the country; the removal of disabling statutes from the legislative code is pointed to as the unmistakable token of the highest enlightenment; but persecution, for all that, will not be given up as a principle of State policy. It is not necessary that persecution be linked with physical or social suffering to make it an outrage by man upon man. Moral degradation is as keen in its effects as the pain of the rack or the lash. To affix a stigma upon any one by reason of his religion is to inflict a greater injury on him, because the injury is permanent and enduring, than to condemn him to jail or the triangles and dismiss him after he has worked out his sentence.

The scenes which are being enacted in England to-day are an expression of the sentiments of Philagatharches. The King has had

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a very humiliating experience. Naturally a tolerant, easy-going man, who has gone through the world for nigh sixty years without giving offense or engaging in polemic, he has had to pass through the Caudine Forks of an instrument forged in the days of Titus Oates in the shape of a test oath. By the terms of the Constitution —or rather the Declaration of Rights—before he could open Parliament he was obliged to read and subscribe to a shocking denunciation of the religious belief of a very large proportion of his subjects and hundreds of millions of Christians outside. The scene was trebly degrading. It degraded the monarch who was obliged to give utterance to the deadly insult; it degraded, or was intended to degrade, the Catholic nobility and gentry and populace in the British Isles; and it degraded the framers of the insult as persons incapable of any real religious or humane feeling, because the essence of the Christian religion is charity toward your neighbor and tenderness for his honest convictions and modes of expressing them. A gorgeous scene, we are told, was that of the opening of Parliament by the new monarch. A scene of abasement and shame, we should rather say. The King, we are told by a High-church organ, read the insulting passages in the oath in a low voice—a token that he was ashamed of them. In his heart he was probably saying what Daniel O'Connell said of a similar oath tendered to him in Parliament: "One-half of it I know to be false; the other I believe to be untrue."

It is one of the most singular facts in regard to the oath or declaration now causing such a stir that while it attacks the chief doctrines held by the Catholics, it makes no profession of faith in regard to Protestant doctrine. It is true that in the form of declaration presented to the monarch at the coronation ceremony, words appear affirming adherence to "the Protestant reformed religion established by law," but no allusion is made, direct or indirect, to the doctrines held by that Church. Can imagination picture anything more grotesque, more puerile, more ostrich-like, than this cowardly attempt to evade responsibility by attacking systems which never displayed a like temerity? The Catholic religion is an affirmative religion. What it believes, and what it requires of its children to believe, it states in explicit terms. We defy any member of the Anglican Church to state in precise terms what it believes and what it really means by anything it pretends to state as articles of faith, beyond the declaration of faith in a triune God and the sacrament of baptism. Is the denial of what others hold as Christian creed to be regarded as a just equivalent for a substantial alternative belief? How many negatives are required to construct a single positive?

The purpose of the framers of this oath was malign. Like all people actuated by malice, they were rendered so stupid as to be unable to realize that their malice was transparent. They desired not only to insult the belief of Catholics and the Head of the Catholic Church, but the royal personage to whom it was proffered. These are the exact words of the ingenious contrivance:

"I, A. B., by the Grace of God, King (or Queen) of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, do solemnly and sincerely in the Presence of God, profess, testify and declare that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly in the presence of God profess, testify and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or power whatsoever, should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning."

In other words, the royal person to whom this form of abjuration is tendered is told by implication that he or she is one capable of making such mental reservation, and would do so if circumstances so seemed to require, were it not for the safeguard provided by this super-cunning cobweb of formula The population of Lilliput pinning Lemuel Gulliver down with threads and pegs was not more farcical than the idea of the oath-builders that in practical matters their contrivances would be of any use. Queen Victoria, as an illustration, at her coronation took another oath, or declaration which she swore to solemnly on the Gospels, to the effect that she would maintain the Protestant Church, as by law established, in England and Ireland. Thirty years afterwards she signed the bill disestablishing that Church as far as Ireland was concerned, without asking anybody to absolve her from her solemn oath. "Good manners, Kate, must curtsey to great Kings."

In the case of Queen Victoria the tendering of such an oath was denounced by the famous Dr. Lingard as "both cruel and indecorous," considering her youth and that want of judgment and inquiry into the subject which so solemn an undertaking necessarily demanded as a condition precedent. How could such a young girl as she take it on herself to say that any doctrines were "superstitious and idolatrous" when she had had no opportunity of examining into them? If she did have such an opportunity, was her judgment so ripe as to justify her in coming to a decision on such a solemn subject?

"Toleration combined with a love of persecution" characterizes

the attitude of the British Government toward this stupid heirloom of the Stuarts. When Lord Salisbury had his attention called to the protest of the Catholic peers, he admitted that the terms of the oath were offensive, but added that the wishes of those who demanded security for the Established Church should be respected! Where is the security in compelling Protestants to swear what they believe or do not believe regarding the belief of Catholics? Of what value is any man's opinion on the objective character of certain beliefs subjectively held by others? A man might with as much sanity and rationality swear to what he believes to be the characteristics of the flora and fauna of the Southern Pole as to the objective value of a religious belief into whose foundations and doctrines he has had no opportunity of inquiring. Lord Salisbury is too well-educated a man to believe that the dogmas of the Catholic Church are either blasphemous or idolatrous, but he does not wish to stir the sleeping dogs of Orangeism and Nonconformist bigotry; therefore he will not say that persecution must cease outright. The susceptibilities of bigotry must be tenderly regarded in any modification that may be proposed.

What is this Protestant Reformed Church which the monarch is compelled to swear to support before the crown can be assumed? "Two honorable gentlemen assert," said Edmund Burke, "that if you alter her symbols you destroy the Church of England. This, for the sake of the liberty of that Church, I absolutely deny. The Church, like everybody corporate, may alter her laws without changing her identity. As an independent Church, professing fallibility, she has claimed a right of acting without the consent of any other; as a Church she claims, and has always exercised, a right of reforming whatever appeared amiss in her doctrine, her discipline, or her rites. She did so when she shook off the Papal supremacy in the reign of Henry the Eighth, which was an act of the body of the English Church as well as of the State (I do not inquire how obtained). She did so when she twice changed the liturgy in the reign of King Edward, when she then established articles which were themselves a variation from former professions. She did so when she cut off three articles from her original 42 and reduced them to the present 39; and she certainly would not lose her corporate identity nor subvert her fundamental principles though she were to leave ten out of the 39 which remain out of any future confession of her faith. She would limit her corporate powers, on the contrary, and she would oppose her fundamental principles, if she were to deny herself the prudential exercise of such capacity of reformation."

An independent Church, professing fallibility! What a subtle satirist was the great Edmund as he posed as the defender of this

wonderful "corporation!" "Capacity for transformation" he should have said, not reformation. And it is to the maintenance of this wonderful construction that the English Sovereigns are pledged—an undertaking just as rational as the condemnation of doctrines of which they know nothing whatsoever! How they can be supposed to maintain and defend what is always in a process of mutation they do not pause to inquire. The fetish rites which accompany the inauguration of a Congo chief might easily be more intelligible than the oath and the declaration exacted by law from the British sovereign before he is invested with the insignia of royal power.

Lord Salisbury is a descendant of the statesman, Burghley, who was the chief adviser of Queen Elizabeth. It is curious to trace the similarity of policy between these two Cecils separated by an interval of three hundred years. When Father Campian and twelve other priests were condemned to death on a trumped-up charge of conspiracy against the Queen, many people said that it was at least impolitic to kill so many Catholics on the scaffold at the time when the Duke of Anjou, a Catholic prince, was in London as a suitor for the sovereign's hand. Burghley met this sensible objection by the plea that "it was necessary to allay the apprehensions of the Protestants." Much as Cecil loved lenity and toleration, he loved persecution more—for the sake of the Protestant interest. The same tenderness for that particular interest is clearly seen in his descendant of to-day. Elizabeth, Burghley would have the world believe, was so devoted to that interest that she did not shrink from sacrificing her dearest personal feelings, in running the risk of offending the suitor whom she loved unfeignedly—as she had given him reason to know—in order to demonstrate it. What a master of finesse was the statesman who established a reputation for vast wisdom on the strength of taciturnity and a habit of shaking the head! Nobody was very certain about Elizabeth's religion. She was never very certain about it herself. All she was sure of was that she was the head of the Church, and this Church was in a chrysalis state. To prove her unequivocal attachment to it, therefore, by a sublime act of self-sacrifice seemed to Burghley an opportunity not to be lost. And so ten of the thirteen priests went on hurdles to Tyburn to suffer the ferocious punishment of treason according to old English law.

Is it not more than ordinarily curious to recall that the real beginning—the *fons et origo malorum*—was celebrated by a Mass—the very same mystery of worship which is now consigned to perdition by the terms of the royal oath? At dawn, on the 25th of January, 1532, one of the chaplains of King Henry VIII., Dr. Rowland Hill, received an order to celebrate Mass in a certain room in Whitehall Palace, and there he found the King, with attendants, on the one

side, and the Lady Anne Boleyn, with other attendants, on the opposite. Perceiving that it was a Nuptial Mass that he was expected to celebrate, the priest demurred, as the quarrel between the Pope and the King had not, so far as he knew, been composed. But his fears were stilled by a lie from the lips of the King. He assured the chaplain that the Pope had pronounced in his favor in the matter of the divorce from Queen Catherine, and that he (the King) had the Pope's document on the subject in his own private apartments. This fraudulent marriage was gone through with the object of shielding the already shattered reputation of the bride, and in eight months after its celebration the woman was delivered of a child, who in time became famous as Queen Elizabeth and infamous as the author of the laws which declared the Mass which was invoked to sanctify her unlawful conception and to legitimize her coming birth was blasphemous and idolatrous, and so to brand her parents as persons on a level with pagans in matters of religious belief. There appears to be a peculiar appositeness, therefore, in the circumstances attending the genesis of the anti-Catholic oath. Fraud and sin were present at its cradle; the sinful child of that fraud and sin was the agent and originator of the persecution of which it was the verbal expression. Everything unhallowed shed its influence over the sinister festival. Broken marital faith, base dissimulation, insatiable sensuality, brutal injustice, sickening hypocrisy—all these on the part of the royal bigamist, combined with ambition and uncontrollable passion on the part of the frail mother to render the furtive nuptials a ceremony attended by the rejoicing of the fiends rather than one meriting the blessing of heaven.

After the mockery of a divorce by Cranmer, Henry and Anne were again married, lest the coming issue of their cohabitation should be pronounced as born out of wedlock. Cranmer's connection with these proceedings and the subsequent religious overthrow has all the fitness of a great tragedy. In special was he a proper adjunct of transactions which eventuated in the formulation of abjuratory calumnies against the doctrines hitherto accepted by the whole of Europe. When Cranmer was called to the archbishopric there had been no open rupture between the Pope and Henry, and so his nomination was ratified by the Holy Father and the necessary bulls were forwarded prior to the consecration. He was fully aware of the strained relations which subsisted between the Pope and the King because of the divorce proceedings as well as the question of Papal supremacy, and had made up his mind to sustain the cause of the monarch as against the claims of the spiritual Head of the Church Universal. Therefore, when the time came to act he went, with a notary and witnesses, into the chapter-house at Westminster and

made a formal declaration that in the oath of obedience to the Pope which he was about to take, as required by the existing law, he did not bind himself to anything contrary to the law of God, to the rights of the King, or the intention of any reforms which the latter might find necessary to institute in the Church in England. Then, after this attempt to liberate himself from the responsibility for intended perjury, he marched straightway to the high altar of the cathedral and took the pontifical oath, after declaring in the presence of the same witnesses that he adhered to the reservation he had declared in the chapter-house. It is not surprising that a prelate whose conscience would permit him to juggle thus with the most solemn protestations that man can take had prepared himself for the downward path by breaking loose from the bonds of the priesthood in other respects. Cranmer had thrown off the restraints of celibacy as he had pre-determined to throw off his allegiance to the See of Peter. He had been married twice in his life and left his second wife behind him in Germany when the news of his appointment came to him. But he seems to have concealed the fact from the King, who, with that singular inconsistency which marked his conduct in his later years, had always insisted on enforcing the canonical rule in the matter of clerical celibacy, and even punished violators of it with death.

When, therefore, the framers of the present oath of abjuration are blamed for tagging to it the declaration disclaiming mental reservation on the ground of a Papal dispensation to that end, it must be remembered that they had ample justification in Cranmer's case. Cranmer's trick imposed on nobody but himself. His protest that he did not intend to be bound by what he was about to swear he would be bound by was that sort of device which in popular parlance is styled "cheating the devil in the dark." To compel the English sovereigns to swear that they shall not be guilty of the perfidy and perjury of Cranmer is the worst insult that could well be offered to mortal. And so the framers of that form stand convicted of such crass stupidity as not to be able to perceive that they were guilty of something very like high treason in thus insulting the head of the realm and the head of the Church of England.

We hear the reproach of casuistry and jesuitry frequently flung at the professors and teachers of the Catholic faith. Where can be found so gross an example of casuistry as Cranmer's? Of a piece with the performance at Westminster was the play between Henry and himself which followed quickly upon that event. Knowing full well that the reason why the King made him an archbishop was that he desired his services in the matter of the divorce, he sat down to pen a letter intended to show that he was quite ignorant of the

motive of his elevation. This document was written for the world and for history, but it was so transparently tricky that it served no purpose but to show what a simpleton after all was this super-subtle simulacrum of a cleric. How the grim Tudor must have smiled when he read the missive imploring him to quash all fears of a dispute over the succession, and asking him was it his royal will and pleasure that the question of the divorce should be heard in the archiepiscopal court! The King, to do him justice, was not insensible to the ludicrous aspect of this transaction. The comedy was too broad: the playwright was compelled to mend his hand. He was made to write a second letter couched in terms more suitable to Henry's part in the comedy. The Archbishop was put in the position of a man taking a bold step on his own responsibility. The King was urged as a matter of duty to put an end to the uncertainty regarding the succession, which was said to be a source of grave anxiety and a menace to the peace of the world, by having his cause heard and determined before the primatial see; and the petitioner was made to declare before heaven—he was quite an adept by this time in making these awful protestations—that he had no object whatever in making the request but the benefit of the realm and the relief of his own conscience. The precautions taken by him to prevent Queen Catherine from getting any word of the intended proceeding, at the same time, attested the sincerity of this almost sacramental protestation. The farce was completed by the finding of the tribunal of partisan theologians and canonists and the pronouncement of the divorce decree by the forsworn Archbishop.

In the drama of perfidy in high places thus opened we behold the real beginnings of the royal oath scandal. Although no word about doctrine had as yet been spoken, although the King was still as firm a Catholic in matters of faith as he ever had been, the soil was being prepared for the sowing of heresy's seed. Even when the Pope had set aside the decree of Cranmer's court and the English Parliament had by statute severed the connection between Rome and the English Church, the question of doctrine was not involved; the independent Church still remained Catholic, in its own view, although separated from the general body and the head of Catholicity. The infant Elizabeth, who was destined afterwards to pronounce the religion of her father and mother blasphemous and idolatrous, was baptized duly in that religion. But it is instructive to follow the developments which quickly ensued, for no lesson is more palpable than that which they teach, that one act of disobedience to lawful authority entails a host of evils whose destructive course is irresistible even to the hand which has opened the floodgates. Passions which had not as yet revealed themselves, or lain

dormant, in the King's nature now began to operate; and when once the Sovereign sets the example, we all know how dutiful subjects deem it right to comport themselves. If the King have a hump, then round shoulders are found to be part of the line of beauty in the human form; if the Queen limp, then a mincing gait becomes the standard of feminine locomotion. Avarice seized upon the mind of Henry—a mind relaxed and dulled to moral perceptions from a long course of sensual indulgence and the uncontrolled assertion of its own variable will. In the transfer of the spiritual authority to himself he beheld a source of revenue which must secure him immunity, for his whole lifetime, from the trouble and worry of extorting money from unwilling parliaments; and he had those about him whose greedy eyes had long been noting the extent and the richness of the lands attached to the great abbeys and monasteries and the generosity of the resources which enabled the abbot and the monk to feed and clothe whole armies of the indigent and enfeebled day after day. Step by step went King and Parliament down the steep slope of Avernus, totally unable now to arrest the pace or check the increasing momentum of the descent. The new ecclesiastical situation required a new oath for bishops, clergy and office-holders; and in the test then drawn up we discern the embryo of the thing that has since evolved in such direful and shocking form—an incantation that makes the sincere and sensitive Catholic shrink as from a whisper from the damned. The bishops were required to swear that they abjured the supremacy of the Pope and acknowledged only that of the monarch; and they were also required, in doing so, to abstain from following the trick of Cranmer, in reserving anything in their minds or availing of any prior dispensation to do or say anything contrary to the oath of supremacy.

Whether or not Cranmer had any part in the construction of this new test is a point on which history is silent: the probability is that he was one of those who assisted in its composition. In that case, he must have been the possessor of a mind singularly apathetic on the subject of personal guiltiness, since he did not fail to condemn in others that of which he himself had, in the knowledge of living witness, been guilty.

It is not in human power to devise a form of abjuration applicable to every phase of society and every successive era, and as Henry desired to cover the present as well as the future, it became necessary, in order to effect his monstrous purposes, to devise a catalogue of specific disavowals designedly framed to ensnare the most prominent men who had opposed, as a conscientious duty, the divorce of the King. These men, Henry knew, were of that inflexible integrity that they could never be got to acknowledge his iniquitous

claim to spiritual supremacy Chief among these intended victims were the illustrious More and the early tutor of Henry, the saintly Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. The oath of supremacy which was tendered to these two was accompanied by the side statements that there was no power on earth competent to dispense within the degrees of kin prohibited in the book of Leviticus, and that the marriage of Catherine and Henry had from the beginning been unlawful and void. Other declarations and denials were tacked on to the oath from time to time by the King, to suit other phases of his war on Pope and Church; but in the case of More and Fisher, the great object sought was indicated in the two statements to which they were asked to subscribe, and by subscribing to which they might have saved their lives. The particular stress laid on this, in the cases of these two eminent men, was prompted by the knowledge of the high esteem in which they were held, not only at home, but on the continent of Europe, because of their integrity and wisdom; and if only Henry could boast that they had acknowledged that they were wrong in their opposition to his criminal conduct, he would have gained a great moral—or rather immoral—victory. It is necessary to observe the sort of double-action in ethics employed in connection with these momentous events, in order to gain a true estimate of their infernal cunning and unscrupulousness. We have seen how the King's Archbishop absolved his conscience from the guilt of an intended perjury, having no sanction for his conduct but his own pre-determination to do wrong: we behold, in the hectoring tone and shallow arguments adopted by Henry's tool, Cromwell, toward the dignified ex-Chancellor, an attempt to deceive one's self with similar idle sophistry. More had been pressed by his judges—if one may so call them without degrading the idea of the judicial office—to give his reasons for refusing to take the oath. He had pleaded that he feared his doing so would give offense. Had he an assurance from the King that he would not give offense, he said, he would state why he objected. Whereupon Cromwell interposed with the bold equivocation that even the King's warrant would not save him from the penalties of the statute by which the oath was prescribed. An exquisite specimen of sophistry, truly, seeing that it was the King who had got the statute enacted, and that the men who enacted it knew that if they refused they would lose their heads. To assume that the work was superior in authority to the artificer shows a novelty in argument quite of a piece with the childish self-deception initiated by Cranmer. And all through the long series of conflicting alternations that marked the gestation of the Anglican Church may be traced the same spirit of self-deceptive reasoning. The work was accepted as superior in authority to the hand that

made it; the religion and the civilization that had been bestowed by Rome were assumed to be above and independent of the bestower. How grotesque an idea that a self-amputated limb carries with it the vitality and energy and will-power of the trunk from which it has been disparted!

More and Fisher frustrated the King's design to use them as witnesses for the justice of his cause; and his deep chagrin is perceptible in the energy with which retaliatory measures were pushed forward thenceforth against the Church His suspicions were not allayed with every new declaration he wrung from weaker prelates. Month after month he hedged himself and his successors around with fresh barbed-wire affirmatives; and, taking Cranmer as a type, rather than Fisher, he carefully exacted from each prelate a declaration that he had not saved himself from a perjury by a reservation like Cranmer's. Foolish man to think that such a device would secure the allegiance of any one worth having! If the power of mental reservation is such as to impose upon one's own conscience, what limit can be placed upon that power? One has nothing to do but to add reservation to reservation, in order to escape from any dilemma, no matter how bewildering, with which conscience may be confronted.

The extraordinary delusion that even the thought of man may be controlled by acts of parliament was amongst the monstrous products of this period of heretical parturition. It is truly wonderful to look back on the series of enactments solemnly debated and passed by successive sets of men, popular representatives as they were fictitiously described, the central idea of all being that the power of the Crown and the law-making authority was competent to coerce not merely the human conscience, but even the secret action of the mind itself. For instance: It was taken as a proof of internal malice—that is, the secret conviction of the mind—that a man should refuse to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the monarch; and to "wish or will" maliciously anything injurious or derogatory to the King, or to style him a schismatic—as he plainly and ostensibly was —or a tyrant—which everybody was now convinced he was—was declared to be high treason, punishable by the horrid butchery of hanging, "drawing" and quartering. Amongst the false charges laid at the door of the Catholic Church is that of nullifying the Divine gift of free will by the assertion of power to control even the involuntary thought and the working of the mind. Here we behold a savage ruler asserting even such a tremendous power as an inherent appanage of secular sovereignty, and exercising the function of supreme spiritual authority—supreme lord of every human being, body and soul, in his realm—even vicariously, and even his vicar

vicariously. We behold him clothing Cromwell with his self-bestowed supreme authority and giving him priority in the councils of archbishops and bishops, and Cromwell's very clerks assuming that power, in Cromwell's absence! Gesler's cap, on high in the market-place of Altorf, was a badge of freedom in comparison with the vicarious ink-horn bearers of his High Mightiness the Lord Cromwell. The Grand Llama of Thibet, upon whose august lineaments no mortal is deemed good enough to look in public, claims nothing in the way of human degradation to be compared with the authority bestowed by King Henry first upon himself and then upon his tool Cromwell, and the whipper-snapper clerks of the same miserable instrument.

It is not strange to find that successful assault upon the spiritual rights of the Church should be followed by another assault on the civil rights of the people. By the terms of the old coronation oaths the principle of consent of the governed was recognized in the form of undertaking proposed to the monarch previous to consecration. From the earliest times of the English monarchy the democratic principle was expressed in the terms of the oath, in the shape of the promise exacted from the King that he would govern justly, in accordance with the laws and customs of England and maintain the privileges of the clergy. When the sanguinary Tudor was called to his dreadful account the cunning hand of Cranmer was again visible in the construction of a modified coronation oath adapted to the new times and the new ideas of monarchy superinduced by the cutting loose from Rome. No longer was it deemed necessary to solicit the acceptance of the sovereign at the hands of the people, according to ancient usage, but the managers of the young King took that acceptance for granted, and he was made to pledge himself to keep the laws and respect the liberties of the people, to keep peace and concord in the Church, to do equal justice, and to make no laws but to the honor of God and the good of the Commonwealth. Having thus cut down the right of the people in the compact between the sovereign and the nation, the crafty-minded ecclesiastic proceeded to undermine the power of conscience in the infantile mind of the King, with all the unscrupulous casuistry of the Serpent in the Garden. While the words to which he had sworn the King still trembled on the air, he, in presence of the Blessed Sacrament on the altar, upon which, it is said, the King had been sworn, proceeded to inform him that his right to rule was derived not from people or Pope, but from God alone; that no power whatever lay in the Bishop of Rome or any other bishop to impose terms upon him, and so forth. Yet, in spite of this assurance of absolute irresponsibility, Cranmer himself proceeded to lay down terms, by telling the

King his duty. Now for the first time we catch a glimpse of the monstrosity which had been long incubating in that dark and tortuous mind. The word which for his life he dared not speak, the thought which for his head he dared not breathe even, to the late King, for all his tyranny and presumption, it was now safe to spring upon the world, for the time was ripe. *Idolatry*, he said, it would be the King's duty to extirpate—the "idolatry" in question being the worship of Christ in the Sacrament on which the monarch had been sworn. What an awful picture of impiety! The human mind is incapable of realizing any treason to God or man more abysmal. The worship which his monarch had just rendered, as pledge of his sincerity in the bargain made between the nation and himself, he heard now cynically described by the priest who led in it as the degradation of paganism—identical with the dark rite of the British druid and the gross superstition of the African barbarian!

Now we have, for the first time in England, official promulgation of Protestantism's cardinal idea. On the Continent it had been broached and preached by the bolder among the so-called reformers, although Luther, with all his hardihood, quibbled about it and tried to compound with the plain words of Christ in the Bible on which the apostate monk was so insistent. But the guilt of the first official denial of Christ in the sacrifice of His love, in the country which had acquired the title of Mary's Dower, belongs to Cranmer. History fails to furnish, from its long roll of arch-hypocrites, any just compeer of Cranmer in versatility of apostasy. When we recall that many and many a one he himself had consigned to the stake for the expression of beliefs which he now denounced as idolatry, we cannot but shudder at the thought of his hideous insensibility to shame or remorse.

After going through this extraordinary performance with respect to the Sacrament and the King, Cranmer, in his character of Archbishop, proceeded to sing High Mass, with all the unction of a genuine pontifical celebrant.

Such, then, was the scene which ushered in a new system in the English sovereignty. The law of Divine right was for the first time enunciated in the civil sphere; the principle of mental reservation in the taking of a solemn oath illustrated and declared just, and the duty of the monarch to become persecutor in spiritual affairs inculcated. It must be owned that every dramatic propriety is visible in the awful sacrilege. From this *point d'appui* to the definite denunciation of certain theological tenets was but a step.

It can hardly be doubted by any dispassionate reader that the material advantages accruing in the first place to the sovereign, and in the next to the counsellors by whom he or she was surrounded,

from the application of test oaths to persons of position and property was a prime factor in the development of spiritual tyranny in these curious products of the new religion. No obscure persons were called upon to subscribe to them; invariably it was to persons high in ecclesiastical rank or influence or those who held great landed estates or valuable movables or personal effects—anything, in short, that might readily be converted into money—that the searching formulæ were tendered. Death or forfeiture was the certain penalty of refusal: in most cases forfeiture went along with the death penalty. Monarchy, in those days, while always extravagant, was always needy; and there were times when it was next to impossible to get money from Parliaments. The modern system of loans on international securities was then unknown; the internal resources of each country were the chief reliance of the Crown for its wars and its costly *entourage;* and when the religious difficulty came, with its unlimited prospect of attainders, we may be certain that it was hailed by royal theologians as a special dispensation for their especial relief. When a man or woman has had the notion firmly rooted in the mind that rule comes by right divine, it is not difficult to conceive how the corollary doctrine that the larger right involves the smaller, that spiritual rule means material ownership, may quickly follow. While the bloated Henry asserted what he fully believed was his heaven-derived right as spiritual lord, he never had the smallest doubt that he was equally justified in filling his coffers and rewarding his minions by the spoliation of all who disputed his outrageous claim. In due time it dawned upon the minds of men, as the system of rule by political parties began to emerge from the long conflict with absolute royal power, that the principle of religious test could be utilized with immense effect in political life; and so we see it begin to take shape as a methodical *modus vivendi,* at a time when the assertion of the royal prerogatives in the matter of recusants' property became alarming even to the parasites who had procured them from Parliament. This was in the reign of James I., when the penal statutes against Catholics assumed a character of ferocity so minute and far-reaching as to draw from the French Ambassador to England the indignant comment that they were characteristic of barbarians rather than Christians. The force of this condemnation will be realized when we reflect that at the time it was uttered persecution of opponents and cruel punishments by torture and immurement were the rule and the law universally in vogue. It is little wonder that the Catholics who were in a position to betake themselves out of the kingdom did so, since life was no longer tolerable in it for them. Those who were compelled to remain were split up into two parties, and thus rendered impotent as a political factor,

through the artful machinations of their persecutors. The new oath of allegiance was so cunningly devised as to draw a distinction between those who denied and those who admitted the temporal rights of the Roman See. The former class were decreed exempt from any penalties for recusancy other than those already enacted; while the others were subjected to imprisonment as long as they continued obstinate, besides to forfeiture of both real and personal property. This drastic test was not intended to be a dead letter, or a punishment held *in terrorem* merely. No sooner was it passed into law than it was ordered to be tendered to all those recusants already convicted under previous laws, to all others *suspected* of Catholicity because of non-reception of the Protestant sacrament twice in the year in a church, and to all travelers who were unknown in the parts where they were found. At one blow the King was thus enabled to enrich himself and his followers at the expense of their helpless adversaries, as well as to reap an enormous political advantage by excluding them from both Houses of Parliament and the local magistracy. Divided in opinion, something like a schism arose in the Catholic ranks. Blackwell, the archpriest, who had sworn allegiance to Elizabeth, regarded the new oath as one that might conscientiously be taken, even though it had been condemned by the Pope, and to lead the way took it himself, and in a circular advised his clergy to take it also, in the sense in which it had been explained to him by the Royal Commissioners. This subserviency, while it rent the Catholic body in twain, did not save the archpriest from the malice of his enemies. He was flung into prison, where he languished until his death. Meanwhile James sought to improve his advantage by plunging into the sea of theological discussion in vindication of the oath. While his headsmen and hangman and fagotmen were busy burning and decapitating and disembowelling priests and gentry, he kept his pen busy on dissertations on Antichrist and the Apocalypse as an "Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance," getting them printed, and then tearing them up and trying his hand again. When the effort was over the result was seen in a book, copies of which he sent to various crowned heads as well as to the different English prelates, and whose singular compound of learning and false reasoning, we may surmise, prompted the choice epigram of Sully on the character of James—"the wisest fool in Europe."

Previous to this time the spirit of those safeguarding oaths had been defensive rather than aggressive. In James' case we see a new turn of thought. The head of the realm deems it his duty, as head of the Church of Parliamentary enactment, to assert the functions of theologian and proclaim the King's sway as spiritual lord over the souls and consciences of men. The mind which, fresh from scenes

of disgusting bacchanal debauchery, could enter into a profound disputation with doctors of divinity, then invade the precincts of Satan in an excursus on demoncraft, and then proceed to think out tests and punishments for ancient hags and others suspected of witchcraft, was surely one to deceive itself into the belief that no domain in heaven above or earth beneath was exempt from its influence and authority. Theology he believed to be the highest of sciences, and himself the greatest theologian he knew. Familiarity with canon law led him on to the belief that his position as head of the Church gave him the inherent faculties of the priestly office, if it did not actually, as in the case of Heliogabalus, delude him into the idea that he was a divinity himself. So, in the famous case wherein Archbishop Abbot, while on a hunting party, accidentally shot and killed the keeper of the park, James took on himself the duty of giving him absolution from all irregularity *ad majorem cautelam*, as under the old canon law it was necessary should be done by the highest ecclesiastical authority. When, therefore, he undertook to act in an ecclesiastical function, it is not matter for surprise that he should undertake to define what was heretical with regard to the opinions of his Catholic subjects. It was not alone that they were coerced to deny the deposing power of the Pope, but they must needs also swear that to entertain the belief in this power was "heretical, impious and damnable."

Rapid had been the evolution of the "divine right" idea. Emancipating itself from the tradition of the consent of the governed, by the manipulation of Cranmer, the monarchy, within a century, had also emancipated itself from all spiritual responsibility. The deposing power resided neither with Pope nor people. Boldly assuming that inherent right was sufficient warrant for the assertion of sovereign power, the Crown began that war upon constitutional right which ended only when the head of King Charles rolled from the block. The growth of heresy and civil despotism began at the same hour and were tended by the same hands. It was a despotism, too, more intolerable than that of the Tarquins, since it was not satisfied with absolute sway in temporal concerns, but dared to deal with the concerns of the human soul beyond the grave. When a tyrant sovereign is responsible neither to heaven nor his subjects, there is no escaping from the crux that either slavery or revolution must be the outcome of the situation.

Still, no oath or affirmation that had been as yet proposed went any farther, as a doctrinal utterance, than a repudiation or denial of something. If the process of building up could be furthered by mere demolition, the lineaments of the Anglican Church must have been so well defined that no uncertainty could be entertained re-

garding its expression. But here is the anomaly in the case. While men were again and again asked to avow that they did not believe in this thing or that, no one ventured to suggest an alternative belief. Each monarch swore to defend the faith; yet the faith which one monarch defended was altogether different when his successor appeared to take the same oath. The first attempt to identify "the faith" with a particular Church is found in the coronation oath agreed on by the Parliament which settled the crown on William and Mary after the Revolution of 1688. The sovereign was made to swear, by the terms of this covenant, to uphold "the Protestant religion established by law," but not until after a stiff debate whether the form should not rather be, "as it should be hereafter established by law." But the phrase, "the Protestant religion as established by law" meant nothing or anything, so far as doctrine was concerned. No doubt it had been decreed by the House of Commons, in 1673, that no one should be given public employment, civil or military, who refused to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance and to receive the sacrament "according to the rites of the Church of England." But only ten years before this decree was passed there had been an abortive attempt at the Savoy, the Bishop of London's residence, to revise the Book of Common Prayer, by a commission of clergy from both the Episcopal and the Presbyterian communions, with a view to rendering its meaning intelligible and acceptable to both regular and dissenting Protestants. These learned men, after a very long discussion, found themselves unable to agree upon any form of revision that would fulfil the desired end; and so King Charles was obliged to summon Convocation and get the alterations made perforce by the Established bishops, that he might carry out the undertakings on the subject of toleration given by him to the commissioners at Breda. The Act of Uniformity which was the outcome did nothing more than prescribe certain external forms as to the reception of the sacrament: of the nature and essence of the sacrament itself the recipient might entertain the widest or the narrowest opinion, just as is the case to-day. The fact that many in the Protestant communion still believed in the Real Presence in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is strikingly shown in the stringent declarations embodied in the Test Act of 1673, and the still more stern one of 1675. Several times during the debates in Parliament over these measures the ministers who proposed them were challenged to state what they really meant. "What," asked the Earl of Shaftesbury, "is the Protestant religion? Where are its boundaries? How are they to be ascertained?" Parliament was asked to compel men to swear that they would not attempt any alteration in a religion the limits of which were unknown. It was in vain that

Shaftesbury, Buckingham and other peers sarcastically exposed the inconsistencies of the proposers of these absurd Test Acts, and challenged them to state in terms what doctrines were to be safeguarded. All that was aimed at was to keep Catholics out of the public service, and so the shocking passages about Transubstantiation, copied from earlier Puritan declarations in the reign of Charles I., were inserted in the new tests; and in 1678, owing to the fears of the accession of a Catholic prince, the oath, in its present outrageous form, was extended even to the wearer of the Crown.

The great object of the Test Act of 1673 was to exclude the Duke of York from the succession because he had become a Catholic; and its first effect was to make him resign the office of Lord High Admiral. Lord Clifford, who filled the post of Treasurer, also declined the oath and resigned.

When Titus Oates got up his nefarious scare about a Popish Plot, Parliament was once more invited to turn its attention to the defenses of Protestantism, which no amount of strengthening and buttressing seemed to be able to render secure enough. Then came the bigot Danby with his amended Test Act excluding Catholic peers from Parliament, despite their hereditary privileges, which were regarded as having their roots in the very Constitution. From the Lower House Catholics had been debarred since the time of Queen Elizabeth. But the case was different from that of the peers, whose right to sit and vote by virtue of their descent was an integral portion of the organic law of the realm, as settled since the Conquest.

It must be owned that the apprehensions of the nervous defenders of Protestantism, "as by law established," were not altogether groundless, bearing in mind the shifting foundations on which the structure was raised. Of stability in doctrine or discipline there was none. A process of mutation as constant as the action of the tides on a sand-bar was its normal characteristic. But, independently of the peril possible from this phenomenon, there was also the equally subtle danger of those subterranean streams of mental reservation so forcibly exemplified in the amazing convolutions of Cranmer. A somewhat different order of self-deception, yet one equally ominous of insecurity to framers of armor-clad abjurations, is seen in the case of the Duke of Argyll. To retain him in his office of Justice-General and his hereditary sheriffdoms, from which powerful enemies sought to oust him, the Duke was tendered the oath. After some hesitation he consented to take it subject to an explanation. The explanation was remarkable. He would bind himself by the oath, he said, "only in so far as it was consistent with itself and the Protestant religion, and would not bar himself from en-

deavoring, in a lawful way and in his station, to make such changes in Church and State as he might deem beneficial." Casuistry is often imputed to theologians of the Catholic faith as a dangerous and unlovely peculiarity. The most experienced teacher of the art might not disdain a lesson from this Highland chief, who was the type of a very numerous class that gained for Scotland a reputation for ingenuity at a time when a divided allegiance threatened ruin to the chief landholders of the country. Still, this remarkable instance of logical dexterity was ineffectual to save the Duke. Although it satisfied the Duke of York, Charles and his commissioners were doubtful of such a man's reliability. They saw in his mental attitude an extension of the principle of private judgment in a direction more dangerous far than that of religious faith—the temporal things of the State. So that when he appeared again to qualify as Commissioner of the Treasury and again proffered his explanation when about to take the oath, he was placed under arrest and tried for treason, and only saved his head by disguising his person as he tried to do his thoughts and slipping out of his prison.

No fact is plainer than the falsity of the pretense that those royal oaths and parliamentary tests were devised out of zeal for religion. As we trace them step by step, the material considerations which really prompted their invention are seen developing themselves in growing boldness and definiteness. To oust people of a different kind of conscience from their lands and possessions, to garner up political power in the one direction so securely that the men gradually getting the upper hand could reckon on its possession permanently for themselves and their descendants; to use these tests for the Machiaveillian purpose of setting Catholic against Catholic, son against father, brother against brother, wife against husband, and so to gradually stamp out the old religion from the face of the land—these were the real purposes of the Coronation Oath and the Parliamentary and official tests. We have this sardonic purpose openly avowed by many of those engaged in the furtherance of it. Strafford set up the Court of Wards in Ireland in order to carry it out, and he tells us so with the frankest cynicism in his own papers. He wanted the estates of the old Catholic nobility for the King's use, and so he seized the heirs when they were minors, sent them to be trained in some Protestant den, and kept them from their inheritance until they would "conform," the court meanwhile getting the "livery" of their lands. He quotes a remarkable instance of his success in this policy in the case of the Earl of Ormond, "who, if bred under the wings of his own parents," he observes, "had been of the same affections and religion his brothers and sisters are; whereas now he is a firm Protestant."

The subtle mind which devised this policy was not in all cases at fault. While many of the old native Catholic families stood firm, newcomers like the Butlers and Fitzgeralds at length succumbed. Ormond was so successfully imbued with the virus of anti-Catholicism and denationalization that he is found later on practising on others the same insidious arts as he had himself been ensnared by. In a letter quoted by Carte, speaking of a declaration adopted by a Catholic synod, which was copied from the Gallican Church, he says his aim in rejecting it was "to work a division among the Romish clergy;" and "I believe I had accomplished it, to the great security of the government and the Protestants and against the opposition of the Pope and his creatures and nuncios, if I had not been removed."

It was in Ireland that this remorseless policy was mostly exerted in all its unnatural malice. By means of it and of the wars to which it gave birth as the centuries rolled on, the land of Ireland was three times confiscated. But its religion never was. It is there to-day, as firmly rooted as ever; and, by a singular fitness in retribution, it was by an Irish hand that the oath of perjury and blasphemy was dashed to pieces in the midst of the shrine wherein it was forged. It is now only taken by a "Defender" of the Faith which it was designed to destroy; and its effectiveness is seen in the fact that the monarch just passed away had no hesitation in signing the death warrant of the Established Church in Ireland, which under its terms she pledged herself to uphold as solemnly as she repudiated the "idolatry" of Transubstantiation.

John J. O'Shea.

AN OLD-IRISH MONASTERY IN THE APENNINES.

I.

ONE summer day, in August of 1897, it fell to the lot of the writer to find himself on a pilgrimage to the little and almost inaccessible town of Bobbio that lies hidden away in the innermost folds of the mighty Apennines. I had left my traveling companions at Milan and made my way to Piacenza, whose streets of fortress-like palaces seemed doubly sombre and mysterious at that midnight hour which found me knocking at the gate of an ancient hostelry. A kindly and courteous welcome, such as one usually meets in out-of-the-way Italian towns, added to the comfort of a few

hours' sleep, too soon broken by the necessity of catching the first train that pulled out for Rivergaro about four in the morning. For more than three hours I shivered in the open tramway car that sped with great rapidity over the level fields of the Placentine territory, amid vineyards and olive groves and orchards, by tiny hamlets clustered around ancient churches, over rivers and creeks arched romantically by willows and sycamores and wild native shrubberies, through ancient towns whose corner-stones were laid by some prehistoric Italiots, and whose archives are gray with age, perhaps rusty with a thousand stains of blood and conflict. It was painful to fly like a thoughtless bird across the plains of

> "fruitful Lombardy,
> The pleasant garden of great Italy."

It was more painful to know that we were skimming so rapidly across one of the world's greatest battle-fields, where, between two seas and under the shadow of the highest Alps, the original contentions of our remotest Aryan ancestors were fought out; where the mercenaries of Hannibal overthrew Scipio and Sempronius (B. C. 218); where a thousand mediæval conflicts had been fought; where the Russian Suwarrow repulsed Macdonald in 1799, and for one hour checked the victorious flight of the Napoleonic eagles. Here, too, was initiated one phase of the great mediæval struggle of Church and Empire—that wonderful mixed conflict of the powers political and spiritual that is not yet off the stage. On the Plain of Roncaglia, near Piacenza, in 1158, Frederic I. promulgated the Code of Justinian with all its absolutistic Cæsaropapism as the future fundamental law of Christendom. This suggestion of his Bologna law school was the opening scene of the second number in the marvelous trilogy of mediæval struggles that centres about the names of Henry IV., Frederick I. and Philip the Fair. How little men foresaw in the time of Dante, when the fierce Ghibelline poet still recalled with joy

> lo imperio del buon Barbarossa
> Di cui dolente ancor Milan ragiona,

what should be the outcome of the world-shattering duel between these Kings of the Rhineland and the priesthood of Rome! The Kings are dust in the lonely vaults of Speyer, where their marble statues, crowned and sceptred, keep solemn ward in the great basilica; but the Bishops of Rome are still a central influence in the affairs of Europe, though it is now, politically, antipodal to the system and the ideals of the Hohenstaufen. Here Spaniard, Frenchman, German, Swiss and Austrian—the whole horde that old Pope Julius, with a genuine Renaissance temper, called the barbarians—have in more modern times held sway, for a briefer or longer period;

yet what remains of the "forestieri" to-day? Is there not something indomitable in the immemorial racial instincts of a population rooted to the soil and feeding forever on its own ideals as incarnated in history, monuments, letters?

The sun was high when we brought up with a clatter at Rivergaro, a picturesque Lombard hamlet, with its feet in the glorious plain and its back long drawn out upon rising slopes that are as the first rung of the great ladder of mountains whose top is the snowy crown of Mount Blanc. Here I was bundled into a "diligenza," or old-fashioned Italian express coach, not of the Concord type, nor, again, like the archaic vehicles that run yet between Rome and the neighboring hill towns, rather a comfortable and secure conveyance, with perch upon perch and pocket upon pocket, truly a stout equipment for the long journey that stretches between Rivergaro and Bobbio.

How good it was up there beside the driver, even if he was merciless to the poor "bestie" as they toiled up every winding steep and rattled down every long hillside to the music of a grinding brake that alone stood between us and the sulfureted torrent that whirled beneath in a mimic fury of white loam and green waves! The splendid road, so broad and firm, shining in its dress of crushed lime-stone that the peasants replenish constantly from the little blueish heaps that are piled up at intervals, gave back a sense of security. Over there, across the deep and narrow valley that often took on the character of a cañon or gulch, arose sweep above sweep of naked rock—the gaunt gray peaks of the Apennines. It was oppressive to gaze long at this wilderness of stone hung there in the upper air, every convolution and boss and ravine brought out by the accusing sunlight. Right and left, at every turn in the long journey, these massive ramparts of the peninsula glowered down upon us. Occasionally patches of oak and chestnut broke the fierce monotony of these stony "rafters of Italy," and again, a shepherd's hut or his browsing sheep. The distant tinkling of their bells, the thin fine note of some cowherd's pipe, relieved from time to time the white stillness that lay upon all nature save for the brawling of the torrent as it caught up forever and ground the fresh masses of limestone that were forever crumbling down into its remorseless mill. Not unfrequently a whitewashed chapel rose against the blue line of the horizon, some lonely mission station telling of a divine presence, of God's interest in the scattered herdsmen, of the long journeyings and fastings of their good clergy.

On the lowest slopes, however, vegetation was abundant. The vine and the olive grow poorly enough. Now, as of old, the wines of the Apennines are weak and thin; there is in them no melted sunlight of the South. These are cold and stern regions. We are moving

through the heart of ancient Liguria, not the maritime Liguria, but the Liguria of the mountains. Here, between Genoa and Pisa, lay of old those almost autocthonous tribes which came so slowly under the yoke of Rome. Neighbors, perhaps kinsmen, to the Gauls beyond the Po, they outlived in their rude independence of shepherds and hunters the liberties of the Roman Republic and yielded only under Augustus. They had long been the Swiss of the Roman State, mercenaries for every power that would pay them, from Carthage to Athens, distrustful of the intentions of the Golden Queen by the Tiber, "montani, duri, agrestes," as Cicero called them. A hundred years of warfare in the last century of the Republic had made its soldiers familiar with the long-haired mountaineers, agile as their own wild goats, sure-eyed slingers, an invaluable foot auxiliary, sober and frugal, their few "impedimenta" neatly cinched on the backs of dwarf horses or mules, their oblong shields of brass hung loosely at their backs. Then, as now, life was a severe discipline for the hill-man of the Apennines. Vergil, in the Georgics, speaks of the "assuetum malo Ligurem," the Ligurian broken to all hardships. The ancients used to say that these mountaineers quarried the soil rather than dug it, and we may well believe them, for the fertile terraces that stretch up the lower belt of the mountains have been created by the industry of centuries and are saved only by the continuous care of each generation. An intelligent irrigation, watchful buttressing of the sunniest exposures, steady repression of the gnawing tooth of multitudinous torrents, are now as needed as in the days when Polybius and Strabo described these hills.

In antiquity this constant toil had its reward. The classic writers speak of the numerous small towns and prosperous hamlets that lay scattered through the Ligurian and Emilian hills. Vergil, notably, dwells on this Apennine scenery, where

> "Many a peopled city towers around,
> And many a rocky cliff with castle crowned,
> And many an antique wall whose hoary brow
> O'ershades the flood that guards its base below."

I wondered, as we held our way along and against the shrunken torrent of the Trebbia, how much of this old Ligurian blood had come down to the peasantry of the surrounding scenes. Since those days when the republic was satisfied with a fair roadway through the heart of the mountain tribes, as the result of two centuries of stubborn warfare, what vicissitudes has not Northern Italy undergone! From Genoa to Venice every valley, every mountain pass, every hillside, has been overrun by some fierce German tribe drawn southward by the fatal gift of Italian beauty. Goth and Schwab and Herul and Lombard swarmed in this region for fully two hundred years ere they finally settled down as peaceful tillers of the soil. But

long before them the Keltic blood of those Gauls who became naturalized on the same site had mingled with the aboriginal strain, or as much of it as had not spent itself in the endless wars with the Republic.

> "Ah me! What armed nations—Asian horde
> And Lybian host, the Scythian and the Gaul—
> Have swept your base and through your passes poured!
> Like ocean tides uprising at the call
> Of tyrant winds, against your rocky base
> The bloody billows dashed and howled and died."

Perhaps we shall never know the conditions of this wonderful and providential amalgamation, this smelting of many races in one strong deep current. Later historians of Europe maintain that the Gallo-Roman blood absorbed the rich Frankish contingent; that the genuine Greek of classical times found a way in his walled towns to perpetuate an untainted blood in spite of Slav and Avar and Bulgar. It may, therefore, be that yonder shepherd whose silhouette bars the horizon is a genuine son of an Italian race whose origins are lost in nebulous myth and archaic saga.

My companions are some men and women from the picturesque hamlets that we met upon our way. A few had come from distant Piacenza, the rim of their social horizon. But they were kindly and gossipy, quite curious about the "Americano," when they learned his nationality, full of startling questions about the great Western world that came before them in all the hues and outlines of Paradise. They chattered among themselves about the probable purpose of one who had come from the depths of the West to their lonely and uninteresting mountains. In their vigorous and picturesque dialect that holds yet some echo, some savor of the old Vergilian tongue, they proclaimed him a man

> "Qui multorum hominum mores vidit et urbes."

In their manner and speech, it seemed to me, there was something of an old-time innocence and simplicity of life, as of men and women whose imagination had never been stirred, and whose interests and passions were bounded and conditioned by these walls and towers of granite that encircled their existence from an immemorial day. Not otherwise did Nausicaa and Alcinous, their Phæacian counsellors and peers, listen to the storm-tossed Ulysses as he recited in their presence the moving chapters of his great woe. When, finally, I declared that I was only a poor pilgrim to the shrine of San Colombano at Bobbio, and that I belonged, by descent, to the same race that had sent this good and holy man to them so long ago, I felt that the mystery had fallen away from me. I was even like one of themselves, an intelligible being, one who fitted every way into their ideas and experiences. Sicuro! it was a wise and correct thing

to come to San Colombano. Yearly multitudes still came from the hill-towns of Ottone and Varzo and Zavattarello, from Pregola and Cerignale and Corte Brugnatella. Indeed, from great cities like Genoa and Pavia men and women came occasionally to the holy shrine. Yes! he was a "Scozzese," and "Irlandese." Every child in Bobbio knew that. And he had been a "prince" in that land, they thought. Only a short while ago there had come bishops and priests out of Ireland to pray at the tomb of their "Santo." Was he still good and powerful? What a question! Every cabin in these hills had been blessed by him. Every shepherd and peasant loved him as a father; the young and the old revered him. Clearly I had come upon loyal clients of the marvelous old Irishman. They had misty notions of time and space, it is true, but between their primitive paganism and their actual Christianity loomed up to-day, as thirteen centuries ago, the figure of the Christian priest who had made his way hither from the banks of Lough Earne and the precincts of thrice holy Bangor. On every side rose the wrecks of mediæval castles, but the fame of Columbanus was already old when their walls were first raised by Lombard nobles, like human eyries upon every gray crag and inaccessible peak that pierced the cloudless blue above us. And now, at the end of the nineteenth century, that fame was still fresh and sweet, like the heart of cedar, in that still more incorruptible casket, the heart of man. As our "diligenza," after many changes of horses, climbed the last slopes and rounded the last angles that hid the view of this miniature Holy Land, these good "Bobbiesi" turned often my attention to various landmarks connected with the dwelling and work of San Colombano in their secluded valley. Historical truth and decorative legend were, of course, intertwined in their speech. But who would rob them of their legends would surely plunder the robin's nest, pluck the ivy from the ruined wall, violate his father's ashes—in a word, be guilty of any horrid impiety against the gentle amenities and sweet compensations of life. That day, at least, my temper was in no such iconoclastic mood, and San Colombano surely counted me in with his legitimate brood as we reached the long stone bridge that spans the shallow bed of the Trebbia. With its many arches of varying size and shape, its quaint ascending and descending slopes, it brought to my mind the bridge in Bürger's great ballad:

> "Auf Pfeilern und auf Bogen schwer,
> Aus Quaderstein von unten auf
> Lag eine Brücke drüber her,
> Und mitten stand ein Haüschen drauf."

Now, at last, we were on the level ground of the little plain of Bobbio, a kind of clearing some four miles square and the only one of such size that the jealous Trebbia has tolerated from its source in

the near mountains to its issue from those foot hills of the Apennines that are visible from Piacenza. Did worldly business or pleasure invite us we should scarcely rest here, but pursue our way to "Genoa the Superb," the queenliest city of these regions, some sixty miles away. A fair road, old and much used, lay before us, and at its end the palaces and markets, the great churches, galleries and villas of the city of the Dorias and the Balbis, its white-sailed ships from many ports and its elegant caravansaries where meet daily the streams of travel converging upon Milan and Florence and Rome. Bobbio, on the contrary, is forever a most unworldly spot, a little green paradise, rimmed by solemn mountains, a natural home of piety and learning, a kind of backwater along the swift stream of human life as it bears its miscellaneous freight through the centuries. I had come a long way, in loving respect and veneration to feast my eyes upon the site that could fascinate a Columbanus and to grant my heart the comfort of one day's dwelling amid scenes of antique piety to God and devotion to humanity. And so when our chatty and picturesque postillion cried cheerily to his horses and rattled over the stony streets into the little mediæval piazza and set me down in presence of a portly but gentle Boniface in the very doorway of his inn, I experienced a delight known only to those who have the "passion" of the past.

II.

Perhaps there is no better proof of the passing of the old Græco-Roman social order in the course of the sixth century, at least in the West, than the presence and function of such an Irishman as Saint Columbanus in the heart of Northern Italy, almost at the gate of Milan, one of ancient Italy's richest towns, second only to Rome, when the City was in its golden prime. This saint is surely the most famous, also the most influential of that memorable band of apostles who went forth from the Island of Saints and Doctors between the years A. D. 500 and 800 to restore or establish Christianity along the smoking pathways of barbarism, and to create those centres of learning and education whence the episcopal schools of the later middle ages should draw their models, their inspiration—very often their school books—the art of writing, and that skill in illumination to which our modern art historians now refer the first independent origins of Western mediæval painting and sculpture.

A full century, indeed, before the coming of Columbanus upon the Continent other Irish saints had made their way thither. The most renowned is Saint Fridolin, of royal race in Ireland, originally a domestic missionary, then Abbat of All Hallows in Poitiers, friend

and counsellor of King Clovis, zealous rebuilder of the great basilica of Saint Hilary of Poitiers, finally missionary to the Alamanni of Baden and founder of the Old-Irish monastery of Sæckingen on the Rhine-island of that name. Fridolin is a real hyphen between the perishing classicism of the West and its embryonic mediævalism. Nor is his influence departed; his portrait is yet in the blason of the Swiss canton of Glarus, and pilgrims from Ireland yet make their way to the site of his missionary labors in Baden. It was already no very uncommon thing for pious bishops of Gaul to draw to their churches some Irish recluse, like that Arnanus who was the "very faithful friend" of the famous Saint Desiderius (Didier), of Cahors (590-655), one of those great Gallo-Roman bishops who stood for religion and civil order in the truly dark centuries that followed the collapse of the Roman power in the West. To one of the personal disciples of Columbanus, the saintly Gallus (Callech or Kellach in Old-Irish), is owing the great monastery from which went forth religion and culture through all the valleys and along all the uplands of Switzerland, along the waters of the upper Danube and into the forests and mountains of Bavaria. In the lifetime of Columbanus another Irishman, Disibod, with a band of disciples, settled on the lovely heights of the actual Disibodenberg, where the Nahe and the Glan encompass with their waves this famous centre of German mediæval religious life. Yet in the same seventh century the remote deeply wooded uplands of Thuringia were the scene of the labors of Saint Kilian, over whose remains rises the noble Cathedral of Würzburg. Three famous brothers, Ultan, Foillan and Fursey, left Ireland about this period, and by way of England reached the Continent, where their names are still honored as saintly patrons of Belgium and France. The former land holds in special reverence an Irish saint of the seventh century, Livinus, and Saint Fursey is well known as the creator of a peculiar vision-literature that one day culminated in the Divina Commedia. Other Irishmen of this period stopped half-way in England like Dicuil, the builder of Bosham, and the forerunner of Saint Wilfred in the conversion of the South Saxons. The little island deserves also the credit of those English disciples who were brought up in its schools like Saint Willibrord, the apostle of the Frisians, and one of the most interesting of the ecclesiastical figures of the seventh century. Even Southern Italy welcomed Irish missionaries; the See of Tarentum boasts of Saint Cataldus, otherwise known in the seventh century as the chief light of the Old-Irish school of Lismore on the Blackwater.

The labors of Saint Columbanus are, therefore, but one phase of a great religious movement that is only now beginning to meet with a proper scientific appreciation—a renaissance of religion and letters

in lands once illustrious in both, and a conquest of the gross and rude heathenism that was then all too close to the outer margins of Western Christendom, and was eating its insidious way, via laxity and naturalism, into Gaul and Italy and Spain. No doubt a delicate refinement of asceticism, the desire to abandon a passionately loved fatherland, drove many such missionaries away from the beloved island. The lyric farewell of Saint Columbcille is a touching evidence of this, also a first example in literature of that romantic attachment to one's native land that antiquity never knew, and that owes its origin in Europe very largely to the plaints and threnodies of the wandering Scotic monks to whom the icy horror of the Alps and the coarse manners of the Alamannic and Thuringian barbarians recalled only too sharply the "fair hills of holy Ireland" and the gentle habits of their calm cloisters. The rather difficult chronology of our saint's life has been unravelled by Bishop Greith in his excellent account of the Old-Irish Church (1867). Acording to his calculations Columbanus was born in the western part of Leinster about the year 535, when the reign of Justinian was climbing to its zenith, when Saint Agapetus was sitting in the Chair of Peter and the noble Ostrogoths were beginning their heroic stand for the Italian kingdom of Theodoric. In pious anticipation of his gentle and mystic character he was called Columba, or The Dove, by his parents, who are said to have been of royal descent. But he has always been known by the more Gallic form of Columbanus, perhaps to distinguish him from his famous contemporary, Saint Columba of the Churches (Columbcille), the founder of Iona. He was certainly addressed by his own monks as Columbanus, for his life, written by the monk Jonas of Bobbio, shortly after the holy founder's death, has the following paragraph otherwise notable as one of the earliest mediæval references to Christian Ireland:

"Saint Columbanus, who is also called Columba, was born on the Island of Ireland. This is situated in the extreme ocean, and according to common report is charming, productive of various nations and undisturbed by contests with other people. Here lives the race of the 'Scoti,' who, although they lack the laws of the other nations, flourish in the doctrine of Christian strength and exceed in faith all the neighboring tribes. Columbanus was born amid the beginnings of that race's faith, in order that the religion, which in part that race cherished uncompromisingly, might be increased by his own fruitful toil and the protecting care of his associates."

It is said that his later youth was passed under the care of the holy Sinell, in the latter's school of Cleenish (Cluan-Inis), located on a low sloping island in Lough Earne, not far from Enniskillen. Some ruins of this foundation are still visible that may go back to the time of the saintly founder, himself a disciple of Saint Finnian of Clonard, one of the twelve great saints of the immediate succession of Saint Patrick. We are, therefore, yet within the classical period of the Irish Church, in touch with the swift absorbing enthusiasm that

caught the hearts of those "sons of the Scots and daughters of the Kings" whose conversion Saint Patrick loves to boast of in the remarkable booklet of his "Confession."

The biographer of Columbanus tells us that in his earliest youth his mother watched over him with so great care that she would scarcely entrust him to the nearest relatives. Before his birth she had seen him issue from her bosom like a resplendent sun—her more learned neighbors explained that she was bearing a man of remarkable genius. So the life of the boy, says Jonas, "aspired to the cultivation of good works under the leadership of Christ, without whom no good work is done." The same venerable authority gives us a glimpse of what the young Columbanus could learn at his mother's knee, or with old Sinell in the shadow of his apple tree or on the steps of his Keltic cross:

"When the childhood of Columbanus was over and he became older, he began to devote himself enthusiastically to the pursuit of grammar and the sciences, and studied with fruitful zeal all through his boyhood and youth until he became a man. But as his fine figure, his splendid color and his noble manliness made him beloved by all, the old enemy began finally to turn his deadly weapons upon him in order to catch in his nets this youth, whom he saw growing so rapidly in grace. And he aroused against him the lust of lascivious maidens, especially of those whose fine figure and superficial beauty are wont to enkindle mad desires in the hearts of men."

After praising the prudence of the youth against the wiles of these Nora Creinas and Lesbias of long ago, and curiously citing the pagan Livy to the effect that no one is rendered so sacred by religion that lust is unable to prevail against him, Jonas relates the following extremely interesting incident of the life of Columbanus, an incident that effected the saint's whole career and thereby all the mediæval interests of religion and literature:

"He feared lest ensnared by the lusts of the world he should have spent in vain so much labor on grammar, rhetoric, geometry and the Holy Scriptures. And in these perils he was strengthened by a particular aid. For as he was still meditating upon his purpose, he came to the dwelling of a holy and devout woman. He at first addressed her humbly; afterwards he began to exhort her as far as lay in his power. As she saw the increasing strength of the youth she said: 'I have gone forth to the strife as far as it lay in my power. Lo! twelve years have passed by since I have been far from my home and have sought out this place of pilgrimage. With the aid of Christ, never since then have I engaged in secular matters; after putting my hand to the plough I have not turned backward. And if the weakness of my sex had not prevented me, I would have crossed the sea and chosen a better place among strangers as my home. But you, glowing with the fire of youth, stay quietly on your native soil; out of weakness you lend your ear even against your own will to the voice of the flesh and think you can associate with the female sex without sin. But do you recall the wiles of Eve, Adam's fall, how Samson was deceived by Delilah, how David was led to injustice by the beauty of Bathsheba, how the wise Solomon was ensnared by the love of a woman? Away, O youth! away! Flee from corruption into which, as you know, many have fallen. Forsake the paths which lead to the gates of hell.'"

From this speaking picture of the ancient Irish asceticism, the numerous solitaries, male and female, in waste and lonesome places, the struggle in their new Christian hearts between the delights, innocent enough perhaps, of the common social life, and the strong im-

pulses of the spirit, we return with Columbanus to his mother's side. The words of the holy recluse had shattered his already disturbed conscience. He would, indeed, quit the world—his companions of both sexes, the games and races of his clan, the company of his deep-mouthed hounds and his gaunt gigantic wolf-dogs, the mimic battles of wrestling and hockey, the chase of the flying red deer, the wild, free life of the ocean. Often enough, tossed about on its bosom in his little coracle, he had wondered at the beauty and glory and power of the great Christian God, who had but lately driven from Ireland cruel Crom Cruach, gusty Manannan MacLir and all the Keltic Pantheon that his grandfathers in Leinster had so often invoked in the terrible stress of battle, when Ulster came on to compel the famous "Tribute" that made life bitter to every Leinsterman. Now he should nevermore look upon the sweet things of life with attachment. He would cleave henceforth to "his Druid" Christ.

"His mother in anguish begged him not to leave her. But he said: 'Hast thou not heard "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me?" ' He begged his mother, who placed herself in his way and held the door, to let him go. Weeping and stretched upon the floor she said she would not permit it. Then he stepped across the threshold and asked his mother not to give way to her grief; she would never see him again in this life, but wherever the way of salvation led him, there would he go."

Thus Columbanus, as did later Saint Jane Frances de Chantal, trampled under foot every natural feeling and made the first great renunciation. Clearly he belonged to a family of repute, and his future life might well have been one of distinction and happiness among men. It is here that his relations with Sinell, or Senilis, begin, through whom the study of the Scriptures became henceforth the chief occupation of Columbanus. His aged instructor, recognizing the ability and ardor of the youth, taught him the mysteries of the Old and the New Dispensation, tried him before the other pupils with all manner of difficult questions, made endless objections, all of which, obediently and without vain glory, Columbanus solved.

"Thus Columbanus," says Jonas, "collected such treasures of holy wisdom in his breast that even as a youth he could expound the Psalter in fitting language and could make many other extracts worthy to be sung and instructive to read."

This may mean, as Cardinal Moran believes, that our saint wrote at this early date in his life an exposition of the psalms, together with many hymns, both Latin and Irish, and tractates of doctrine or edification.

There is a charming poem in Irish on the vanity of human things that Dr. John O'Donovan has translated into English. He thought it a remnant of the sixth century, the production of a primitive bard turned Christian. It was sung at the court of King Diarmid about the year 554, during the last great Feis or triennial assembly of the Kings, nobles, chieftains and musicians of Ireland. Many of the

similes and metaphors I have recognized in the Latin writings of Columbanus, notably in his metrical homily "On the Vanity of Life." It may well be one of the hymns written by him in the school of Cleenish, for the delectation of his master and brethren. In any case, it is from the hand of a contemporary and may, not without reason, be set before my readers as a specimen of the poetical training given in the Old-Irish schools. The charm of the delicate and intricate original metre must, of course, be enjoyed only in imagination, as well as the intertwined rhymes that call musically to one another all over this highly academic poetry of ancient Ireland:

Like a damask rose you see,
Or like a blossom on a tree,
Or like a dainty flower in May,
Or like the morning to the day,
Or like the sun, or like the shade,
Or like the gourd which Jonah made;
Even such is man whose thread is spun,
Drawn out and out and so is done.
The rose withers, the blossom blasteth,
The flower fades, the morning hasteth,
The sun sets, the shadow flies,
The gourd consumes, the man—he dies.

Like the grass that's newly sprung,
Or like the tale that's new begun,
Or like the bird that's here to-day,
Or like the pearled dew in May,
Or like the hour, or like the span,
Or like the singing of the swan;
Even such is man who lives by breath,
Is here, now there, in life and death.
The grass withers, the tale is ended,
The bird is flown, the dew's ascended,
The hour is short, the span not long,
The swan's near death, man's life is done.

Like to the bubble in the brook,
Or in a glass much like a look,
Or like the shuttle in weaver's hand,
Or like the writing on the sand,
Or like a thought, or like a dream,
Or like the gliding of the stream;
Even such is man, who lives in breath,
Is here, now there, in life and death.
The bubble's out, the look forgot,
The shuttle's flung, the writing's blot,
The thought is past, the dream is gone,
The waters glide, man's life is done.

Like an arrow from a bow,
Or like a swift course of water flow,
Or like the time 'twixt flood and ebb,
Or like the spider's tender web,
Or like a race or like a goal,
Or like the dealing of a dole;
Even such is man whose brittle state
Is always subject unto fate.
The arrow shot, the flood soon spent,
The time no time, the web soon rent,
The race soon run, the goal soon won,
The dole soon dead, man's life soon done.

Like to the lightning from the sky,
Or like a post that quick doth hie,
Or like a quaver in a song,
Or like a journey three days long,
Or like the snow when summer's come,

Or like the pear or like the plum;
Even such is man, who heaps up sorrow,
Lives but this day, and dies to-morrow.
The lightning's past, the post must go,
The song is short, the journey so,
The pear doth rot, the plum doth fall,
The snow dissolves, and so must all.

At Cleenish, we may believe, he was well instructed in Latin, which he writes with great skill. He is, indeed, by far the best Latin writer of the latter half of the sixth century. We may believe, too, that he knew Greek and Hebrew—the former language, it is now well known, could then be learned by Western men only in Ireland, where, up to the invasions of the Danes, it continued to be cultivated, as the philologian Ludwig Traube has proven beyond a doubt in his elegant little work "O Roma Nobilis!"

III.

But now the time had come for a final choice of callings. Jonas says no more of his internal trials—the mediæval writers seldom pay attention to a minute personal psychology of doubts and fears; not that they ignore it, but that it was a part of Christian modesty and self-restraint to spare the world the sight of a soul's travail. Nothing could be more foreign to the mediæval temper than the Byronic bawling of one's sorrows into the ear of an already over-worried humanity.

"Then he endeavored to enter a society of monks, and went to the monastery of Bangor. The abbot, the holy Comgall, renowned for his virtues, was a father to his monks and was held in high esteem for the fervor of his faith and the order and discipline which he preserved. Here Columbanus gave himself entirely to fasting and prayer, to bearing the easy yoke of Christ, to mortifying the flesh, to taking the cross upon himself and following Christ, in order that he who was to be made a teacher of others might show the learning which he taught more fruitfully by his own example in mortifying his own body, and that he who was to instruct might first instruct himself."

Bangor had been founded by Saint Comgall in 552 or 558, and it seems to have been a few years later (560), at the age of 25, that Columbanus entered the famous monastery. Comgall was one of the "twelve apostles" of Ireland, and one of the seven great insular writers of monastic rules, the others being Patrick, Bridget, Kieran, Columba, Molaise and Adamnan. His rule was written in Old-Irish verse, and later was the model for that which Columbanus gave to Luxeuil and Bobbio. Very soon he gathered about him three thousand monks, who dwelt in huts of wattles or osier or in small cells shaped like bee-hives and made of rude uncemented stones, some specimens of which cells may yet be seen on the Skellig Rocks. The fare was poor and rare; for a long time milk was unknown, and even fish, plentiful enough in the neighboring bay of Carrickfergus, was provided only for guests. The Martyrology of

Donegal (1156-1173) says that the "old books of Erin" relate how Comgall was the educator of many saints and kindled in their hearts the love of God. He, too, had studied with Finnian of Clonard, and had been ordained priest at Clonmacnoise. His school companions had been the holy Columbcille and the holy Cainnech.

One of the most venerable monuments of Old-Irish verse is precisely a lament of the holy man of Iona over his enforced exile, with its separation from these friends of his youth. The personal note is here, the subjective standard of the universe and life, the poignant cry of the stricken heart, a genuine root of romanticism, that shall later blossom into an entrancing but peculiar and unique literature:

O Son of my God, what a pride, what a pleasure
To plough the blue sea!
The waves of the fountain of deluge to measure,
Dear Erin, to thee.

We are rounding Moy-n-Olurg, we sweep by its head, and
We plunge through Lough Foyle,
Whose swans could enchant with their music the dead, and
Make pleasure of toil.
. . . . . .

Alas for the voyage, O high King of Heaven,
Enjoined upon me,
For that I on the red plain of bloody Cooldrevin
Was present to see.
. . . . . .

Three things I am leaving behind me, the very
Most dear that I know,
Tir-Leedach I'm leaving, and Durrow and Derry,
Alas, I must go!

Yet my visit and feasting with Comgall have eased me
At Cainnech's right hand,
And all but thy government, Eiré, had pleased me,
Thou waterfall land!

When Columbanus had spent many years at Bangor, it is said as the head master of the school, a longing came upon him to go out like Abraham from his country and kindred into a strange land. In the words of his biographer, "he began to desire a pilgrimage." Doubtless the words of the old recluse were yet ringing in his ears. His desire was the cause of great sorrow to Comgall, who was now growing deaf and infirm. Yet in the end he overcame his personal interests, remembering, perhaps, that in his own youth he, too, had wished to cross the Irish Sea and labor for the salvation of the heathen Angles and Saxons. So we are told by Jonas that the good old abbat called to himself Columbanus "and bestowed upon him the bond of peace, the strength of solace, and companions who were known for their piety." Columbanus was then (589-590) probably some 55 years old. With the prayers of all, and surrounded by his twelve companions, "under the guidance of Christ," he went down to the neighboring seashore.

"Here they waited to see if the mercy of the Almighty would allow their pur-

pose to succeed, and learned that the Spirit of the all-merciful Judge was with them. So they embarked and began the dangerous journey across the channel and sailed quickly with a smooth sea and a favorable wind to the coast of Brittania (Scotland). Here they rested for a while to recover their strength and discussed their plans anxiously until finally they decided to enter the land of Gaul. They wanted zealously and shrewdly to inquire into the disposition of the inhabitants, in order to remain longer if they found they could sow the seeds of salvation; or in case they found the hearts of the people in darkness, go on to the nearest nations."

Columbanus was destined never more to see Bangor. His warm heart must have ached as the sea-going galley bore away towards the Scottish coast. Perhaps more than once, like his namesake, he "turned a gray eye" towards the "waterfall land" of Eiré. Perhaps, too, he bore with him in his "scatula" or sack some of those documents that were soon to be copied into the famous Antiphonary of Bangor that was certainly in the library of his beloved Bobbio before the year 691. In it is the sweet quaint Latin hymn, "O Benchuir bona regula!" that is all made up of tender reminiscences of the primitive monastic paradise which overlooked the waters that now lap the strand of the little Bay of Bangor on the northernmost coast of Down.

Eastward, across the rough and stormy waters of the North Channel, lay the hospitable "White House" (Candida Casa) of the monks of Wales, at Whithern, a site dear to the Irish brethren; for thence had come since a hundred years and more no little of religion, literature, piety and sweet social intercourse. Saint Gildas, nebulous as his person appears, an early benefactor of the Church in Ireland, had been abbat of Whithern. In these waters also lay the Isle of Man, once a mysterious resort and nursery of Druidism, now the seat of a Christian bishopric established by Saint Patrick. Northward from Bangor lay those innumerable rocky islets that stretched away to the Orkneys and the Shetlands, already inhabited by a host of Irish solitaries who disputed with the dripping rocks and the clinging seals and the wave-tossed "duilisc," or dulse, the right to praise the love and goodness of a provident Creator. Where, in all Aryan literature, is there any such piercing challenging personal note of mingled faith and nature-kinship like the very old sea-song that from time immemorial has borne the thumb-mark of Saint Columbcille (Columbcille fecit)? It is as though a poet-saint had been placed in charge of some great lonely light amid the terrible joys and more terrible sorrows of the wooings of Earth and Sea, as they come before the eye of mythopœic fancy.

Delightful would it be to me in Uchd Ailiun
On the pinnacle of a rock,
That I might often see
The face of the ocean;
That I might see its heaving waves
Over the wide ocean,
When they chant music to their Father
Upon the world's course;

That I might see its level sparkling strand,
    It would be no cause of sorrow;
That I might hear the song of the wonderful birds,
    Source of happiness;
That I might hear the thunder of the crowding waves
    Upon the rocks;
That I might hear the roar by the side of the church
    Of the surrounding sea;
That I might see its noble flocks
    O'er the watery ocean;
That I might see the sea monsters,
    The greatest of all wonders;
That I might see its ebb and flood
    In their career;
That my mystical name might be, I say,
    Cul Ri Erin;
That contrition might come upon my heart
    Upon looking at her;
That I might bewail my evil all,
    Though it were difficult to compute them;
That I might bless the Lord
    Who conserves all
Heaven with its countless bright orders,
    Land, strand and flood;
That I might search the books all
    That would be good for my soul;
At times kneeling to beloved Heaven;
    At times psalm-singing;
At times contemplating the King of Heaven,
    Holy the chief;
At times at work without compulsion,
    This would be delightful.
At times plucking duilisc from the rocks;
    At times at fishing;
At times giving to the poor;
    At times in a carcair;
The best advice in the presence of God
    To me has been vouchsafed.
The King whose servant I am will not let
    Anything deceive me.

Such music must have been in the heart of Columbanus and his twelve monks as they put out into the deep. Other things than the swelling uplands of Bangor, its green fields and silver strand, were henceforth shrouded from the sight of these apostolic men. The future devastations of the cruel Picts and the still more cruel Northmen were happily hidden from their view; so, too, was the restoration of the holy house by Saint Malachy that has found no less a chronicler than Saint Bernard. I do not doubt that the opening strophes of the hymn on the rule of Bangor are the lamentations of Columbanus over his departure from that holy place; perhaps they are his very words piously treasured at Bobbio, where the letter and the spirit of Bangor were long observed.

"Holy is the rule of Bangor; it is noble, just and admirable. Blessed is its community, founded on unerring faith, graced with the hope of salvation, perfect in charity—a ship that is never submerged, though beaten by the waves. A house full of delights, founded upon a rock. Truly an enduring city, strong and fortified. The Ark shaded by the Cherubim, on all sides overlaid with gold. A princess meet for Christ, clad in the sun's light. A truly regal hall adorned with various gems."

When Jonas says that they went first to Brittania, he means the northern part of Britain or the modern Scotland, where Christianity was flourishing at the end of the sixth century. The little band seems

to have moved about those Dalriadan communities for a while and to have preached the Gospel, after the principles above stated. As they moved along the coast of Western Scotland, through the Christian monasteries of Wales and Cornwall, they were following the beaten path of Irish missionaries. Their white garments would draw attention, likewise their curious tonsure that left the head bare in front of a line drawn from ear to ear, while the rest of their long locks hung freely. Each priest bore, hanging from the neck, a "scatula" or bag, in which were to be found his relics, his ritual books, psalter, sacramentary or Mass-book and the like, his "Chrysmale" or apparatus for baptism, his chalice, the Holy Scriptures, other objects of a liturgical character and his mazer or hard-wood drinking cup.

Their altar was easily set up, in an open field, by the seashore, beneath a spreading oak. Their speech was direct and burning, often rude and unsparing. They were a new apostolate and laid everywhere the knife to the root. Many a semi-Christian breathed more freely when they shook the dust of his dwelling from their feet and set forth again, with high uplifted cross and ringing their odd little bells, each man with his trusty staff cut from an Irish hedge, each voice thundering the psalms of David or the dear old canticles of Erin, written anew or transformed for Patrick by those high singers like Dubtach, whose conversion had turned the long-wavering balance in favor of Christianity.

Perhaps even then Columbanus had the desire of converting the Angles and Saxons yet heathen—the Roman mission (596) was, however, already taking shape in the heart and brain of Saint Gregory the Great (590-604). Not improbably the contact with the Christians of Wales and Cornwall had already in some way affected, no doubt through the Markland of holy Gloucester, the general temperament of the conquering Low Dutch tribes. Perhaps, too, having broken the resistance of the Keltic Britons, they were aweary of slaughter and destruction and, like the Vandals and Goths, sought to possess and enjoy in peace. No little intermarriage took place along the smoking border between the Dutch warriors and the captive women of the Britons. Welsh and Cornish slaves and outlaws were long an entering wedge for Christianity. A Christian woman was Queen in Kent. Who knows what might have happened had Ethelberga dared what a few years later the Lombard Theodolinda did—the calling of Irish missionaries as the first step in a national conversion?

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IL DIALOGO DI GALILEO GALILEI LINCEO.

II.

THE first portion of our article (which appeared in the April number of this magazine) brought down our narrative to the point when Galileo was commanded to present himself in Rome in order to explain his conduct, and the printing of his work was suspended by an order from the Master of the Sacred Palace. We did not attempt, lest we should exceed the limits of our space, to give a full précis of the Dialogue; but we might have observed that even in the first part of it, though less interesting and less immediately bearing on the great question at issue than those which follow, there are yet some remarkable passages indicating the author's knowledge of mechanics, as, for instance, the velocity acquired by a ball rolling down a perfectly smooth inclined plane. There are also some curious specimens of the ideas current among unscientific though well-educated men at that day. Salviati, for example, finds it almost impossible to convince Simplicio that the surface of the Moon is rough and irregular, like that of the Earth, and not, as he persists in thinking, perfectly smooth, like a polished mirror.

To resume, however, the narrative where we left it, a special commission which had been appointed to examine the book reported that Galileo had been disobedient to orders by affirming as an absolute truth the movement of the earth instaed of stating it as a hypothesis; and by deceitfully keeping silence as to the order given him in 1616 to abandon the opinion that the earth revolved, and that the sun was the centre of the universe.

Another memorial drawn up about the same time accused him (besides those things just mentioned) of having without leave placed at the beginning of his work the permission for printing delivered at Rome; of having put the true doctrine in the mouth of a fool and having approved it but feebly by the argument of another interlocutor (Sagredo); of having treated the subject as one that was not already decided, in allusion doubtless to the decree of the Index in 1616, and of having affirmed (untruly) the equality supposed to exist, for understanding geometrical matters, between the divine and human intellect—an accusation pointing to some apprehensions then existing that false philosophical and theological doctrines might be drawn out of Galileo's opinions. The result of all this was that the old philosopher was summoned to Rome to answer

for his offenses, and notwithstanding his plea of infirm health and advanced age he was obliged to obey the summons. On arriving at Rome he was received at the palace of the Tuscan ambassador, Niccolini. After a short interval he was conveyed to the office of the Inquisition and lodged there by the Pope's order well and commodiously. On the 12th of April, 1633, he appeared for the first time before the Inquisition; he admitted the authorship of the Dialogue, and also that the decree of the Index had been notified to him; but he stated that Cardinal Bellarmine had informed him that it was allowed to hold the Copernican doctrine as a hypothesis, and he did not think he had contravened the order given him that he should not defend this doctrine; this prohibition, however, we may observe was probably intended to include *indirect* support of the theory in question, as through the medium of a personage in a dialogue, though he did not so understand it. This may well have been the case, but it seems strange indeed that he should have said, as he appears to have done, that he had not embraced or defended the opinion that the earth is in motion and the sun stationary, but had, on the contrary, shown that the reasons produced by Copernicus were feeble and inconclusive. It must be also remembered that at a subsequent hearing he stated, after having referred to his Dialogue, that there were some arguments (one being that of the tides) which he had put too forcibly. He is also recorded to have said that he had not held as true the condemned opinion, and was ready to write something fresh in order to refute it.

It does indeed seem that he had not the courage of his convictions, and it is very possible that he did not make a favorable impression on his judges, who might well have considered him wanting in candor and sincerity. In fact, the Pope gave orders that he should be questioned as to his *intention;* then after being threatened with torture (apparently without the view of putting the threat into execution) he should be made to pronounce an abjuration, and should be condemned to prison according to the discretion of the Inquisition, that his treatise should be prohibited and that he should be forbidden henceforth to treat of the subject by word or by writing. It has also been stated (though we do not feel quite sure of the fact) that the last mentioned injunction was laid on him *sub pœna relapsus;* that is to say, that in case of his disobedience he would be treated as a relapsed heretic would be; and an attempt has been made for controversial purposes to show that this threat was tantamount to a definition that the Copernican theory was a heresy.

It is true that when the Church solemnly condemns a heretic, the opinion held by the condemned individual is thereby declared to be heretical. But to maintain that an injunction issued by the Pope

as Head of the Congregation of the Inquisition, and communicated *personally* to Galileo, however severe in a disciplinary point of view, is to be considered as an *ex cathedra* decision, is not only contrary to the best theological opinion, but we may venture to add contrary also to common sense. A threat of the practical treatment to be expected from the Inquisition under certain contingencies is surely not to be compared with a solemn doctrinal decision by the Pope speaking *ex cathedra* and manifesting his intention (as he does in such cases) of binding the consciences of all Catholics. The Pope was in this instance administering discipline rigorously if you please, but not defining any dogma; and to attempt to confound the two things, in themselves essentially different, is one of those controversial stratagems of which we may recognize the smartness, while we deny its relevancy to the true questions at issue. To return, however, to our narrative: he was accordingly asked (on the 21st of June) how long he had held the opinion that the sun and not the earth was the centre of the universe, and he replied that before the decree of 1616 he held that the two opinions could be equally maintained, but that since the decree, being convinced of the prudence of the superior authorities, he had adopted and still held the opinion of Ptolemy on the mobility of the sun as true and indubitable. Certain passages in his book were then put to him as being irreconcilable with such statements, and he was threatened with torture if he did not tell the truth. Yet he persevered in his answer, as already stated; and the tribunal, after making him sign his deposition, dismissed him. On the next day (22d of June) he was taken to Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, and brought before the Cardinals and Prelates of the Congregation that he might hear his sentence and pronounce his abjuration.

He had been accused of having openly violated the order given him not to maintain Copernicanism and of having unfairly extorted permission to print his book without showing the prohibition received in 1616, also of having maintained the condemned opinion, although he alleged that he had left it undecided and simply probable, which, however, was still a grave error, since an opinion declared contrary to Scripture could not be in any way probable.

Now it is not generally known, but we believe it to be certainly the fact, that neither the Cardinals who composed the tribunal of the Inquisition, nor the Consultors, were unanimous in the condemnation of Galileo—a minority being in his favor—but the Pope, following presumably the general usage, sanctioned the decision of the majority, though he was by no means obliged to do so. Technically speaking, this circumstance makes no difference, but it may be considered as weakening the moral weight of the judgment. The

sentence was to the effect that Galileo had rendered himself strongly suspected of heresy in maintaining and believing a doctrine false and opposed to Holy Scripture and in believing that one might maintain any opinion that had been declared contrary to Holy Scripture. He had therefore incurred the censures in force against those who offended in such ways, from which, however, he would be absolved provided that with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith he would abjure the said errors and heresies, but he was as a penance and warning to others to undergo certain inflictions, the book was to be prohibited, he himself was to be condemned to the ordinary prison of the Holy Office for a time and was to recite the seven penitential psalms once a week for three years. The Holy Office reserved to itself power to remit or change part or all of these penances. It is well known that Galileo abjured accordingly. There is a legend, also well known, that after doing so he stamped with his foot on the ground, and said: *"E pur si muove"* (and yet it, *i. e.*, the earth, does move), but there is no authority for this most unlikely story, and it may be dismissed as fabulous. The Pope at once commuted the sentence of imprisonment to one of seclusion in the Palace of the Tuscan Ambassador in the Monte Pincio. Indeed all throughout there had been a disposition to treat him in such a way as to avoid personal or bodily severity, the above mentioned threat of torture not being intended presumably to be ever carried out. He was afterwards allowed to retire to Siena, the Archbishop of which place (Piccolomini by name), one of his warmest friends, received him into his palace and treated him with all possible kindness and attention; indeed, if the reports that reached Rome were true, the Archbishop seems to have gone beyond the limits of prudence, considering the peculiar circumstances of the case, for he is said to have hinted to various persons that in his opinion Galileo had been unjustly condemned; that he was the greatest man in the world and would always live in his writings. If so, he did more harm than good to his friend, for the report of these observations, coupled with an accusation from some hostile source that Galileo had, under the encouragement of his host the Archbishop, spread opinions in Siena that were not soundly Catholic, caused some additional strictness to be enforced as to the manner of his subsequent seclusion.

Whatever may have been the injudicious remarks of the kind and friendly prelate, we are not disposed to believe in the truth of the accusation against Galileo himself; prudence and discretion were not leading features in his character, but we do not credit the report that he spread dangerous opinions in Siena; it would have been the height of folly on his part to do so, instead of occupying his leisure in gazing on the beauties of the magnificent Cathedral, the glory of

that city, built within and without of black and white marble, and marking the transition from the old Italian to the Gothic style of architecture, with its row of circular arches, surmounted by the fine Gothic windows above. He did not, however, remain very long at Siena, but went back to his house at Arcetri, near Florence, where he lived for four years in a somewhat strict seclusion. At a later period, in 1638, owing to his increasing infirmities—for he had become at least partially blind—permission was given him to reside in Florence on condition that he should not speak to his visitors on the subject of the movement of the earth. He consequently resided in Florence during the few remaining years of his life, and he died on the 8th of January, 1642, in his 78th year. He had occupied his time since his condemnation in mathematical and mechanical studies, and in fact had published another dialogue on these very subjects, introducing the same three disputants as before. Simplicio bears a somewhat similar part to that in the former dialogue. He is no simpleton, but he is uninstructed in these questions, yet willing to learn.[1]

We are not, as we have already intimated, writing a full biographical notice of Galileo, nor are we giving a full list of his discoveries, but we may justly say of him that in a scientific point of view he was, with the possible exception of Kepler, the first man of his day. It is related of him that by watching the motion of a lamp suspended in the Cathedral at Pisa he acquired the knowledge of the law which regulates the vibrations of a pendulum, a law familiar at the present time to all persons who are acquainted with the principles of mechanics, but not then known. We have already stated that he was amongst the first, indeed probably the very first, who applied the telescope to astronomical purposes, and thereby did more than any one before him to demolish the old system of Ptolemy and others.

He it was, moreover, who first understood the law that regulates the velocity of falling bodies; he perceived that they were acted upon by an uniformly accelerating force, that of terrestrial gravity, the existence of which he recognized, though not, of course, understanding the far-reaching character of that mysterious force.

We have said, too, that his mind was never in a state of stagnation; as long as he lived he was progressing in the acquirement of scientific truth, and thus before the close of his life he emancipated himself from the erroneous notion that circular motion alone is naturally uniform, and we can scarcely suppose that Kepler's discoveries should have been without some influence on his active mind. Again, in the Dialogue on Mechanics to which we have

[1] There is a copy of this curious work in the library of the Royal Astronomical Society in London, contained in a handsome Italian edition of Galileo's works; there is also an English translation of it, published early in the eighteenth century.

alluded (published as late as 1638) he introduced words which implied a discovery of what is known as the first law of motion, the first of the three laws which now bear Newton's name and which is to the effect that every body perseveres in its state of rest or of uniform motion in a straight line unless it be compelled to change that state by forces impressed on it. This law involved nothing less than a revolution in the conception of the laws of motion as previously understood. Many people, though otherwise educated, probably even now do not understand it, and in Galileo's days it was wholly unknown.

We think it right to call attention to the great attainments of this eminent man of science, for we think we have noticed in the remarks of some Catholic writers a tendency to undervalue them and to represent him as one who made certainly a good guess, which subsequently turned out to be correct, but which at the time was based on false or insufficient proofs. How far this is from being the fact we have already seen. Writers of this class have never studied the Dialogue, as we have already remarked, nor have they learnt to appreciate the important contribution that Galileo made to the science of his day.

The condemnation of the Copernican theory involved in the sentence of the Inquisition was, we believe, enforced stringently, nor was it relaxed for more than 120 years. But in the year 1757, under the Pontificate of Benedict XIV., a new Index was published, in which the prohibition of books teaching the Copernican theory was omitted. Such a step would not have been taken without the sanction of the Inquisition; it was nevertheless considered expedient after the lapse of more than sixty years to give a more explicit decision on the subject, and in the year 1820 a distinct permission was given by the Holy Office for teaching the movement of the earth, and again in 1822 (a re-examination of the whole subject having taken place) a decree was issued, sanctioned by the reigning Pope, Leo XII., declaring that the printing and publishing at Rome of works treating of the movement of the earth and the immobility of the sun was henceforth permitted.

Much hostile criticism, as we all know, has been leveled against the Roman Congregations of the Inquisition and the Index for their prohibition of Copernican writings and books and for the condemnation of Galileo, and we do not consider it to be any part of our duty, writing though we are from a strictly Catholic standpoint, to defend them. Yet there are circumstances that require to be borne in mind as at least affording some explanation of the inflexible severity with which the advocates of the new astronomical theory were treated.

We who have been taught from our childhood that the earth revolves daily on its axis and annually round the sun may well be surprised at the opposition which these elementary truths (as we now consider them) encountered in an age not so very remote from our own as the early part of the seventeenth century. But the teaching of this astronomical theory struck a formidable blow at various notions and ideas prevalent in the middle ages, and natural enough before the telescope was invented. It must have been a terrible revulsion of feeling for men who had always looked on the earth as the physical centre of the Universe to be taught that it was a planet moving like others round the sun. Then we must also remember that good and sound as were some of the arguments used by Galileo in the Dialogue, they were not absolutely conclusive, and indeed were not considered by himself to be so; for had they been so, he could not, without being guilty of gross falsehood, have answered his judges in the way he did. Even as it was, he seems to have made an unfavorable impression on them by his apparent want of candor; besides which a circumstance which tended to create a prejudice against him in their minds was the fact of the Dialogue having been written in the vernacular language. To us that may indeed appear a strange objection to make to any scientific work, but Latin was at that time the language in general use among men of learning and was adopted by Newton many years later when he published his "Principia." The feeling amongst the Roman ecclesiastics probably was that an essay addressed to experts in a language known only to the learned was a different thing from one addressed to the general public in a language known to all.

Speculations on what might have been the result if people had acted differently are perhaps not much to the purpose, but we have sometimes thought that if Galileo had been more plainly straightforward, had acknowledged that he inclined to Copernicanism as a scientific hypothesis, but stated that he would not teach it if the ecclesiastical authorities forbade him to do so, he might have made a far better impression on his judges, and perhaps have converted the minority already disposed to favor him into a majority.

We may here observe that having so frequently used the word *Copernican* to designate the modern system of astronomy as opposed to that of Ptolemy and others, we employ the expression for the sake of convenience, and not as intending to imply that the theory as stated by Copernicus is now held by any astronomer; for his idea was that the earth and the planets moved in *circles* round the sun, which we now know to be a mistake, as was afterwards shown by Kepler and Newton. The orbits of the planets are elliptical, the sun being in one of the foci.

Having given a brief but (as we hope) a sufficient resumé of the facts bearing on Galileo's case, we now proceed to discuss the ecclesiastical force and bearing of the decrees of the Inquisition and the Index, both as regards contemporary Catholics and as regards ourselves, or in other words, the Church considered generally and apart from the particular case of the Catholics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The latter question, though immeasurably the more important, is easier and simpler to deal with. In answer then to the hostile critics who have alleged that the infallibility of the Church is compromised by the above mentioned sentence and decrees, we state what we believe is the doctrine generally if not universally held by the best Roman theologians. It amounts to this: No decision of a Roman Congregation as such, even though sanctioned by the Pope as Head of the Congregation, is infallible; or to employ the usual technical expression, *irreformable*. If, however, the Pope takes up any decision and promulgates it in such a way that he makes it his own, and manifests his intention of binding all Catholics to receive it, then, provided, of course, that it be a matter of faith or morals, it becomes irreformable, as indeed is evident from the decree of the Vatican Council. This certainly was not done in the case of Galileo, nor in fact was it ever done in that age in any case whatever.

The Roman Congregations, as we have ventured to remark elsewhere, seem to us to resemble the outworks of an impregnable fortress; they may be taken by the enemy (owing to the mistake of some officer) and subsequently recovered; damage more or less serious may have been caused, but the fortress remains secure as ever. We must not, however, be understood as denying that there have been, and may again be, decisions of a Congregation of such a purely doctrinal character that though technically speaking not irreformable, they may be considered as morally and theologically certain, and their reception as such be enforced by the Holy See. The case of Professor Ubags seems one of this nature. No work of his was put on the Index, but certain doctrines or opinions extracted from his works were condemned by the United Congregations of the Index and Inquisition, and the decision was ratified and confirmed by the Pope, Pius IX.

During the same Pontificate there occurred another instance, totally different as to the details of treatment, but similar in principle, in the condemnation of the works of Günther, a theologian and philosopher of some distinction. His books appear to have been put upon the Index without any extracts being selected for censure or any reason assigned (as indeed is generally the usage with books that are prohibited), upon which Günther and many of his followers

submitted, but others contended that a mere disciplinary decree was not conclusive. The Pope, however, addressed a brief to the Archbishop of Cologne, intimating that a decree sanctioned by his authority and published by his order (which had already been done) should have sufficed to close the question; that the doctrine taught by Günther could not be held to be true, and that it was not henceforth permitted to any one to defend it.

This may strike us, at the first moment, as exceptionally strong language to use in the case of a prohibitory decree in which no explicit censure was pronounced and for which no reason was assigned, but the fact is that the decree, though in form merely of a disciplinary character, was founded on important doctrinal reasons, since Günther's chief error had been already condemned by the Council of Vienne. We may observe, moreover, that the words in the Pope's brief to which we have alluded do not read as if they were a definition of a matter of faith, stringent and forcible though they were.

We have heard it remarked by a theologian holding an important official position in one of the Roman Congregations that all the Congregational decisions, even those that touch upon doctrine, are to a certain extent disciplinary in their character, and in fact have the nature of what the Italians would term a "providimento." At the same time (as the same able theologian stated on another occasion) there are decisions which impose internal assent *per se*, but not the assent of faith. This is implied by the duty of obedience and our knowledge of the care and prudence brought to bear on the point at issue, but even so such decision may not always be binding on some one who has *special* reasons for entertaining a misgiving as to its being a sound decision. Hence—he proceeded to state—the possible and in some cases actual reversal of Congregational decisions *propter noviter deducta*. It must still be remembered that the prohibitive action of any Roman Congregation must in any case be obeyed, and that it is not lawful for any one to teach a doctrine so condemned as long as the prohibition is in force.

It is obvious that the decisions of the Roman Congregations may be divided into three classes: those which are so immediately and directly doctrinal, as in the two cases mentioned above, that even if not properly speaking infallible, they must be considered as practically irreversible. Then on the other hand there are the purely disciplinary decisions, some of them of a temporary nature, but all requiring obedience as long as they are in force. Finally there are others which are, strictly speaking, disciplinary, but are grounded on doctrinal reasons to such an extent as to give them indirectly the character of doctrinal decisions (and to impose the obligation of in-

ternal assent, at least under the limitations above mentioned), but not so as to render them irreformable.

Considerations such as these lead us to the answer we have to give to the former of the two questions which we undertook to discuss, namely, the effect of the anti-Copernican decrees on the conscience and conduct of Catholics—we mean, of course, good and obedient Catholics—between the time of Galileo and that of the new Index (omitting the former prohibitions) under Benedict XIV. The decrees evidently belong to the last named class; they were disciplinary in respect of their immediate purport, but were based on the question of the interpretation of Scripture.

Thus we have seen that the majority who carried the decision of the Holy Office in 1633, condemning Galileo, referred to the former decree of the Index as having declared the Copernican theory to be contrary to Holy Scripture, that having been the reason explicitly stated for the prohibition of certain works written on the Copernican side.

Decrees such as these may be reconsidered and (to repeat the words we have already quoted) be reversed *propter noviter deducta.* It is notorious that the interpretation of Scripture has in some respects varied at different times. We say *in some respects,* because there are some portions of Scripture, relating to doctrine in the strict sense of the word, which we are forbidden to interpret otherwise than according to the common consent of the Fathers. But it is evident that the interpretation of passages bearing on some other subjects, such as physical science, has considerably varied at different periods.

Besides the case now under consideration, there is one which must occur to every one who reflects on the subject, the Scriptural narrative of the creation of the world. We ourselves can remember the time when it would have been considered a rash and dangerous thing —and perhaps by Protestants more than by Catholics—to interpret the six days of the Mosaic record otherwise than as meaning natural days of 24 hours, and yet scarcely any one does so now. Then, again, the opinion that the body of man, as considered separately from his soul, was derived from a lower animal, would formerly have been considered as rank infidelity; and yet it is not now supposed generally to be *contra fidem,* though perhaps temerarious.

Indeed this principle of Scriptural interpretation was held by no less a man than Cardinal Bellarmine; for in a letter addressed to the Carmelite Father Foscarini, after admitting that there was no objection to the Copernican doctrine if stated hypothetically, though there would be if stated positively and as a reality, he goes on to say that when there should be a real demonstration that the sun stands in the centre of the universe and that the earth revolves around it, it

would then be necessary to proceed with great consideration in explaining those passages of Scripture which seem to be contrary to it; and rather to say that we do not understand them than say that a thing which is demonstrated is false. He would not, however, until it had been shown to him, believe that there could be any such demonstration, and in a case of doubt one ought not to leave the interpretation of Scripture as given by the Fathers. This letter was dated 1st April, 1615, nearly a year before the decree of the Index; but Bellarmine probably foresaw at the time that some such decree would take place; and indeed he is generally supposed to have had a considerable share in bringing it about.

And he did not by any means stand alone in his opinion. The Jesuit Father Fabri, many years later (probably about fifty years), in replying to some correspondent who maintained the Copernican theory, wrote as follows: "There is no reason why the Church should not understand those texts in their literal sense and declare that they should be so understood so long as there is no demonstration to prove the contrary. But if any such demonstration hereafter be devised by your party (which I do not at all expect), in that case the Church will not at all hesitate to set forth that these texts are to be understood in an improper—*i. e.*, non-literal—and figurative sense, according to the words of the poet, '*terraque urbesque recedunt.*'" This Father Fabri appears to have held the office of Canon Penitentiary of St. Peter's.

It is also said that Father Grassi in an interview that he had with Guidacci some few years subsequently to the decree of the Index (probably about 1623) expressed himself in similar language: "When a demonstration of this movement" (that of the earth) "shall be discovered, it will be fitting to interpret Scripture otherwise than has hitherto been done; this is the opinion of Cardinal Bellarmine."

If this then was the opinion of a learned theologian like Cardinal Bellarmine, who when he expressed it was in all probability laboring to get the Copernican theory condemned by such a decree as was subsequently issued, we have a strong confirmation of the view we have stated above, viz., that decisions of this nature, that is, resting on the question of the interpretation of Scripture, are reversible "*propter noviter deducta*," *i. e.*, when a fresh light has been thrown on the subject.

We incline then to the opinion that men whose education and knowledge of astronomy fitted them to form any judgment upon the question at issue were not at any time bound to give interior assent to the decrees of the Index and the Inquisition; and even if they had been so, it would not have involved more than a suspension of judgment until fresh evidence were forthcoming. Outward

obedience was, however, required, and no one could read the forbidden works without permission or publish a work advocating the Copernican doctrine excepting as a scientific hypothesis, merely stated as such.

An illustration of the attitude expected from Catholics qualified as we have just supposed may be found in the conduct of the two Fathers of the order of Minims, Le Seur and Jacquier, who published without rebuke an edition of the Principia of Newton in the year 1742, when the decrees were still in force, in which they inserted a protest to the effect that they entirely conformed themselves to the decrees of the Church on the question involved. It need scarcely be remarked that the principles put forth by Newton were entirely destructive of the old Ptolemean system of astronomy, and indeed supplied the key to the true motion of the heavenly bodies in a way which had never before been done.

And this leads us to observe that the discovery of the law of universal gravitation has justly been attributed to Newton; for he was the first to grapple with it thoroughly, and to show by the aid of his great mathematical genius how strong were the probabilities of its truth. Others, however, had guessed, at least partially, that some law of the kind regulated the motions of the heavenly bodies, and Hooke (a contemporary of Newton) had certainly come very near to the perception of its truth. Indeed, a young curate in the north of England, Horrox by name, the first observer of a transit of Venus, which took place in the year 1639, whose brilliant scientific career was cut off by an early death, might if he had lived have left a name in astronomical history as the discoverer of the great problem; for the identity of the force which acts on the heavenly bodies with that which attracts the objects we see around us to the earth—the great point of Newton's discovery—appears to have occurred to his mind; but as we have already said, he did not live to work it out, and Newton has obtained the credit, and rightly so, of "the greatest scientific discovery ever made," as it has not inaptly been called.

Even so, however, there were difficulties in its reception, and it was not until after the lapse of several years that it was universally received even by men of science.

Our space does not allow of our explaining in detail the reasons which we now have for considering the Copernican theory of astronomy (using the word *Copernican* in the sense we have already stated) as a scientific truth admitting of no appreciable doubt. The theory of universal gravitation may be treated as a moral certainty, and if it be true, it follows that when two heavenly bodies have a motion of revolution imparted to them, they both revolve round their common centre of gravity; if the masses of the two bodies are

nearly equal or at least not vastly unequal, the centre of gravity will lie somewhere between them, and they will both revolve round it, as is the case with many of the stars, the double stars as they are termed; if the mass of one body is enormously greater than that of the other it may be that the common centre of gravity lies within the volume of the larger and more massive body, as is the case with the earth and the sun, and therefore the earth revolves truly round the sun; but as Newton (confirming Kepler's theory) showed, not in a circle, but in an ellipse, in a focus of which the sun is situated.

The invention of the telescope shook to its foundation the old Ptolemean system of astronomy; the establishment of the theory of universal gravitation (with some subsequent discoveries) gave it its death-blow.

It must still be remembered that the conviction we have of the truth of the Copernican system is not the same in character as that arising from rigid experimental treatment (such as one gets in some sciences); experiments of a strictly demonstrative nature are not practicable in this case. What we, however, have is a moral certainty so strong as to exclude all reasonable doubt.

We have been led to make these observations partly by the circumstance above mentioned of the permitted publication by the two Minim fathers of the Principia of Newton with the protest inserted as to their submission to the decrees of the Church. Any capable mathematician on reading such a work could not but see that though stated as a mere hypothesis, Newton's theory carried with it a considerable probability of its truth.

We must not omit to notice the Bull of Alexander VII., published in 1644, which authorized a new Index and for that purpose incorporated it with the Bull itself. This also has been used for a controversial purpose, it being alleged that a solemn Papal sanction was hereby given to the anti-Copernican decrees. This is a good *argumentum ad hominem* as against certain theologians who have tried to draw a distinction between decrees that are actually signed by the Pope and those that (like that of the Index of 1613) are not so signed, though it is notorious that they had the Pope's approbation as Head of the Congregation. As we do not adopt that line of argument, all that is necessary for us to say is that we consider the Bull not as a dogmatic one, but one of a purely disciplinary character, and that it gave no greater sanction to the new Index than the old one already had. We scarcely think it necessary in addressing the readers of this *Review* to argue that the Church has a right to put some restriction on the indiscriminate publication of books and on indiscriminate reading, even though the books should be of a scientific character and should advocate some theory, doubtful at

the time, but which afterwards turns out to be true. The interests which the Church is safeguarding are far more important than those of physical science, even if the latter sustain some temporary drawback; and we cannot admit that the occurrence of a mistake in administering ecclesiastical discipline (as in the case before us), however much we may regret it, can be considered as interfering with the soundness of the general principle.

Indeed we believe that Galileo himself, were he still living amongst us, would agree with the opinion we have just stated; that he might complain of the application of the ecclesiastical discipline in his own case, but would approve of the principle of it, for he lived and died (notwithstanding certain faults, and one grave fault in early life) a good and devout son of the Catholic Church.

And perhaps this circumstance may help to explain the retractation before the Inquisition. True it is that his conduct seems wanting in candor, and it probably gave that impression to his judges; but we do not know what passed in his mind, and it is possible that in a matter which was not free from doubt, however great the probability of the theory might appear to be, he thought it right to defer to the ecclesiastical authorities for the time being and waive his own scientific judgment. At all events, it is more pleasing to take this view of his abjuration than to attribute it entirely to fear or other unworthy motive.

We think it will not be inappropriate if we quote here an extract from a work of Cardinal Newman's, for he particularly refers to the case of Galileo. It is from the introduction to the "Via Media," the edition published many years after the Cardinal's conversion:

"As to the particular measures taken at the time with this end, I neither know them accurately nor have I any anxiety to know them. They do not fall within the scope of my argument; I am only concerned with the principle on which they were conducted. All I say is that not all knowledge is suited to all minds; a proposition may be ever so true, yet at a particular time and place may be 'temerarious, offensive to pious ears and scandalous,' though not 'heretical' nor 'erroneous.' It must be recollected what very strong warnings we have from our Lord and St. Paul against scandalizing the weak and unintellectual. The latter goes into detail upon the point. He says that true as it may be that certain meats are allowable, this allowance cannot in charity be used in a case in which it would be of spiritual injury to others."

We quote these words as confirming by the opinion of this illustrious author the general principle for which we are contending, not as meeting all the difficulties that have been raised as to Galileo. The learned Cardinal admits that he did not know the details of the

case; if he had known them he would have seen that it was not a mere question of putting a few works on the Index because they were inopportune or because they gave scandal to weak brethren, or without assigning any reason (as is now customary); but that far graver issues were raised. Moreover, with regard to the assertion made by some writers that public opinion was so much excited by the Copernican theory at that time that it was necessary to take some steps to satisfy it and so avoid scandal, we should like to know what evidence there is for such statements, for we do not ourselves believe them to be true. A certain number of learned ecclesiastics, some, too, in high places, were no doubt alarmed; those who took their science from Aristotle were up in arms; but it is probable that the mass of the faithful knew very little and cared very little about the subject. Nor was the theory in question a mere novelty; it had been before the minds of the learned since the days of Copernicus, whose work, printed shortly before the death of the author in 1543, had been dedicated to the reigning Pope, Paul III., and had in fact been rather favorably received.

We think then that the true answer to be made to our antagonists who use the case of Galileo as a handle to attack the Church is to insist upon the *principle* that the Church has a right to prohibit the indiscriminate reading of any book, even if it contain very probable speculations and theories on physical science; but to admit frankly that a mistake was made in this particular instance, for it is obvious to those who are acquainted with the facts that the action taken by the Cardinals of the Index and the Inquisition went much beyond the mere suspension or temporary prohibition of an inopportune or imprudent work.

We doubt whether there is another instance of a work being so severely censured as was the Dialogue, considering that it bears no less than four ecclesiastical "Imprimaturs"—that of the Vicegerent of Rome with the condition "*si videbitur Reverendiss. P. Magistro Sacri Palatii Apostolici;*" that of the Master of the Sacred Palace himself, Fa. Riccardi; that of the Vicar General of Florence, "*ordinibus consuetis servatis,*" and lastly that of the Inquisitor General of Florence.

There is, we believe, a memoir of Galileo written by his daughter, one of those mentioned in the beginning of our article. The book, we suppose, is a rare one, and we have not seen a copy of it. This lady was a nun in a convent at Florence or in the neighborhood, and was greatly attached to Galileo. If we are correctly informed, she quite bears out what we have already stated, that no personal ill treatment or bodily severity was inflicted on him. We need not, however, dwell upon this, as the antagonists against whom we are

writing do not, generally speaking, allege this supposed cruelty, or at least do not lay any stress upon it, their object being rather to discredit the Catholic Church than to excite feelings of pity for the individual sufferer.

We commenced our article by pleading, in justification for recurring to such a well-worn subject, that whether we like it or not it is being constantly revived at intervals and handled afresh fairly or unfairly.

An instance of this occurs at the present time. At the ancient University of Oxford there is an annual competition for an English prize poem on a given subject, and the successful competitor recites his poetry in public amidst the plaudits of his friends and fellow-students. The subject given for 1901 is Galileo. Let us hope that the youthful aspirants for this popular distinction may on the one hand avoid the temptation to assail the Catholic Church, and yet on the other hand do justice to the character of the great philosopher—the pioneer of modern astronomy.

F. R. Wegg-Prosser.

London, England.

THE SOCIALISM OF THE SOCIALIST.

IT is often said that one way to foster a cause is to misunderstand it. Opposition which is based on misunderstanding seems to make more intense the attachment of those who believe in the cause; their enthusiasm is sustained, their sense of justice is quickened and their methods of propaganda acquire a pointedness which undoubtedly gives them force. This is noticed often in social movements. In the earlier stages the movement is vague, confused, uncertain; the details of its essential meaning are not clear because thought and feeling lack precision. Hence they who embrace it may least understand. Such a condition very naturally leads to misunderstanding which in turn invites opposition. But when the movement meets opposition it becomes introspective. The defense which is made brings about clear thinking and exact expression. Gradually the vital thought of the movement comes to conscious expression, and then force, unity and organization result. Objective study from those outside largely displaces prejudice and the movement receives dignified recognition.

These thoughts find illustration in the history of Socialism. In its earlier stages it was wild, fantastic and impossible, an air castle

in many forms built by excited dreamers. Later it was a confused mass of popular agitation, conspiracy and politics, boundless aspiration and keen economic analysis, allied by choice, accident or fate to anarchy, riot or revolution, a favorite resort for all who hated institutions and had lost reverence for the past and hope for the future. In that confused stage Socialism invited and met misunderstanding and organized opposition. It has, however, succeeded in disengaging itself fairly well from all that is more radical and all that is less radical than itself; from anarchy on one hand and from Populism, Trade Unionism and the like on the other. It is true that there are points of contact, but the differences of policy and principle are pronounced and they are understood by reflecting persons. To-day Socialism knows its own essential idea, though hopelessly at sea concerning its details. It is self-conscious, direct and aggressive with recognized methods of propaganda and a record of achievement which we may not ignore. It is the doctrine of a political party which has reached extraordinary proportions in Germany, great proportions in France, Belgium, Italy and Austria, though not yet a factor of much importance in American life. It has created a literature and a press; it has its poets, historians and economists; it has taken a place in modern life which promises it a future with which society must reckon.

Setting aside for the moment the many "socialisms" which are spoken of nowadays, we may say for present purposes that there are three Socialisms. First, we have the movement in itself; a deep, far-reaching social force whose full meaning is not yet grasped by men, working out its providential rôle in human history independently of our efforts to master it. Secondly, there is a Socialism which opponents see: minimized in what is attractive, magnified in what is hideous, illogical and defective. Thirdly, we have the Socialism of the Socialist; real, comprehensive, satisfying; its own apology and explanation, answering all questions with authority, allaying all fears with power. It does not occur to the Socialist that his prepossession converts assumptions into axioms, baseless promise into infallible prophecy, and that it has so perverted his mental tests that, as regards the present social order, criticism is true if only radical, wisdom is real if only confident and statement is true if only bold. Socialism seems to me to mean just such a mental revolution, but the Socialist is not conscious of the psychological process which brings it about. Those of us who cannot accept its creed certainly find it gravely at fault and a source of danger to society. Nevertheless, it is not our view of it that is the power. It is the Socialism of the believer, of the Socialist, that is the world movement which has won adherents, created a literature, organized parties, fought battles,

won and lost them. If we persist in taking only our own view of Socialism, our opposition to it is useless toil and vain concern. We may, perhaps, prevent it from spreading in certain directions by the attempt to show that there is in it too much reckless hope and despair. But something more is needed. We must understand the Socialist's subjective side, know him sympathetically, seek the sources of attraction other than argument to which Socialism owes much of its strength.

Fair minded observers agree that many phases of the conditions in modern life are deplorable. "Only too abundant is the harvest of miseries," to quote the recent encyclical. The evils complained of are absolute and they are not softened by any relative considerations of those who in the past suffered more or of those who in the future may suffer less. The relative view may be of service in judging institutions, but it is useless to console their victims. One of the chief factors in the situation is the distribution of wealth. Though we admit, as is maintained, that the present distribution is the best possible in the circumstances, it is at best very bad. For a century and a quarter individuals have been left to themselves and circumstances to earn their living, to accumulate property. Life has so shaped itself and institutions are so adjusted as a result that the amount of wealth which one possesses or of which one disposes practically determines one's opportunity of education, culture, health and home. We are accustomed to say that a man is "worth" a certain sum, and if the amount is large, that statement is generally the second headline in his obituary notice. Individuals are enabled to project the sphere of their influence into the future by inheritance laws which permit men to control property long after they have passed away. We cannot escape this central fact that the accident of property affects and largely controls life, crime, morals, culture, home. The struggle among individuals to acquire property has become unremitting, fierce and almost savage, and it has charged the atmosphere with inhumanity and materialism which have affected nearly every phase of life.

Like heavy, grimy smoke, settling down on the city from which it has just ascended, on marble and granite, smirching cathedral, mansion and capitol, that social atmosphere has tainted our religious, political and social institutions to a marked degree. This was made possible by the disintegration to which social life had been subjected. The middle ages saw the organic unity of social life realized. Religion was the basic element; political, industrial, social and domestic interests were conceived as closely related, and thus organic unity was not only a fact in individual life, but as well in social life.

The first break in that social unity came in the Reformation, whose individualism practically placed religion in a secondary place in society. Political individualism followed later, reducing the State as a political force to a very restricted field. Then came the economic gospel of *laissez faire*, in which individualism pure and simple is the law of industrial action. The organic unity of social life thus destroyed, the economic forces forged ahead. The industrial war—the struggle for property—waged fiercely. The sense of the responsibility of society to the individual and of the individual to society even in economic interests was weakened. Selfishness, class antagonism, inhumanity and materialism naturally resulted and marked the history of individualism with dark lines.

Since this individualism is the antithesis of Socialism, which is merely a reaction, the fundamental relations of the two require a word.

State stands between individual and society. We may imagine a condition of society in which the individual enjoys a maximum of liberty; we may imagine another in which a minimum only is accorded to him. As a rule individuals have accorded to society as a whole the right to protect and direct them and to preserve order. Society doing this is called the State. It is the State that defines and guarantees rights, raises armies, levies taxes and punishes crime. The State can interfere much or little in any line of social activity; it can direct and even coerce individuals, or it may leave them free in matters relating to religion, education, industry and the like. When the policy of the State is to interfere as little as possible and to allow as much liberty as possible, the trend is called individualistic; when the policy of the State is to interfere extensively, control details and leave but little room for self direction, the tendency is literally socialistic. Historical development, however, has restricted the use of the terms to political and economic activity. The theory which allows the State to interfere as little as possible in industry is called Individualism, while the theory which requires that the State or society take over the entire field of industry is called Socialism.

The line of thought which the Socialist of to-day takes is something like the following: Life in society has been practically reduced to a struggle for property. The strong are arrayed against one another and the weak are their victims. In principle the State may not check the former or assist the latter, since it admits little responsibility for the economic condition of the individual. It does not limit the amount of wealth that one may accumulate nor does it measure the pangs and distress that one may suffer. Endowment, cunning and circumstances largely determine one's lot in life. The benefits of civilization are not distributed evenly to men as men;

they are distributed unevenly to the owners of property. All crimes and vice, degradation and misery, defeat and arrested development due to the struggle for property, all due to its excess or to the lack of it, must be charged to individualism.

The social condition, the number and kind of evils which mark it have become such that a radical remedy is imperative. The situation contradicts our best thinking, hence the mad struggle for property must be stopped. A plan of social reorganization must be devised which will eliminate the property motive from individual life; one which will rest on the principle that all the members of society are responsible to each member and each is responsible to all, even in industrial life. If man is social, if he has human rights and these rights spring from his nature as man, not from his ability to outwit his fellow-man in a competitive struggle, then industrial life must be in harmony, in peace. Social organization must be tender to the weak, humane to the suffering, masterful to the strong and just to all. This is possible, continues our Socialist, only under Socialism. Individualistic institutions must be banished; instead of private ownership of capital, social ownership; instead of the competitive struggle, orderly coöperation; instead of private enterprise, social direction of industry; instead of individual ownership of the product, social ownership with distribution according to some principle yet to be devised, but one which at all events will directly protect man's essential dignity and rights.

The stupendous revolution in social life which that proposition implies cannot be measured. The vastness of the project renders it vague and the vicissitudes of its history but add to the indefiniteness. Socialism is the platform of a party; it is a religion, it is materialistic; one could enumerate many forms which seem mutually exclusive. But that variety need not engage us now. For the purposes of this study we may take it as a deep, radical, comprehensive criticism of society. It holds that social conditions and institutions violate our accepted appreciations of man, his dignity, nature, rights. The right to liberty, equality, fraternity, to fullest mental, moral and physical development, to exemption from misery, degradation and ignorance, are not enjoyed except by the favored few. Socialism takes these accepted views of man and his rights and aspires to establish social institutions which will infallibly guarantee them. That being its *object*, it proposes as a *means* thereto that society own all capital, control all industry and distribute the product according to principles of justice. We thus find in the essential thought of Socialism definite ethical conceptions, economic and political doctrine and a dominant ideal.

Unfortunately for clear thinking, the word socialism is much

abused. We have the terms Christian Socialism, Catholic Socialism, Municipal Socialism, State Socialism and many more. The habit of applying the name to any reform movement, as is often done, has caused much difficulty to those who wish to think honestly and clearly. Since the movement is known, in outline at least, to all who are interested in social questions, and abundant socialistic literature is easily found, no further attempt is made to examine the meaning of the term Socialism. It may be well to quote from the recent encyclical of the Holy Father the meaning which the term has in his mind and the form in which he has condemned it:

The Socialists "would have the supreme power in a State to be in the hands of the common people, in such sort that all distinctions of rank being abolished and every citizen made equal to every other, all might have equal access also to the good things of life; the law of lordship is to be abolished, private fortunes confiscated and even socialization of the appliances of labor carried out."[1]

A glance at society as we see it and live in it to-day reveals to us that dissatisfaction is well nigh universal. From every recognized centre of social influence there comes the tone of bitter discontent and disappointment. The achievements of our institutions, all that we have done for civilization, the conditions in which social forces are now operating and all the prospects for betterment fall far short of the demands that are made by the awakened and sympathetic intelligence of to-day. The complaints vary in depth, character and motive, but they are none the less marked, none the less efficient in fostering a restless desire for relief from any source.

We hear persistent criticism of society from religious centres. Professedly Christian as is our civilization, only a fraction of our people are churchgoers, and of that fraction perhaps a minority consistently accept the Gospel standards in their lives. The trend of things has relegated religion to the domain of individual concern, and public opinion is scarcely more than deferential to it. The intensity, concentration, ideals and methods of industrial life have created an atmosphere in which no religion but that of wealth can thrive. Religion, the keeper of life, guardian of its great moral purpose, the gentle firm power which holds man in check, receives his respect and directs homage to God, the Author of life—religion, the greatest fact in a man's life, is relegated without apology or regret to a secondary place in the scheme of things by the force of mere economic development. The competitive struggle, the central individualistic institution, merciless in process, savage in principle and demoralizing in effect, has no place for religion and its standards. But the need of its saving power is seen in the problems that now

[1] The English translation in the "London Weekly Register," February 1, 1901.

confront us, in the vice and crime and injustice, in the corruption and inhumanity which we behold on every side. Timidly, as an unbidden and scarce tolerated thing, it makes answer to the cry for reform.

The principles of the Gospel must be introduced into industry. We must shape our ideals according to its spirit; social powers must coöperate to make that spirit dominate in all life, and men must shape their individual lives thereon. Such is the tone of the suggestions for reform made by religion, but its voice is scarcely heard while the all but unchecked economic forces of society go on in their savage career.

Complaint comes from scientific centres. Students and teachers of social sciences who devote their energy to the careful study of society are constantly in the presence of the awful effects of the maladjustment of social forces. In crime, degradation and poverty they discover far beyond the individual causes which are in and of our institutions. They see in factory, tenement house, sweatshop and dreary homes; in the broken health and blighted morals of boys and girls; in injustice and oppression, the working of law and cause for which society is accountable. They see in the separation of the ethical from the economic in industry the expected fruit of our social philosophy. They write and criticize and suggest reform. Some legislation is recommended, appeal is made to public opinion, social settlements are founded, but little that is direct, searching and complete is accomplished. All feel helpless in the presence of the actual situation in society and of the massive indifference to general welfare which characterizes the public.

Complaint comes from the laboring men. They bear the burdens of civilization and share disproportionately in its joys. They are the weakest factor in the process of production, hence they are the first to feel the evil effects of the competitive struggle and the last to share in its benefits. Conscious of all this they determine to force the remedy on society by combining their powers and demanding specific reforms in their interest. They have accomplished more than any other reform element in modern life, but even their work is far from being comprehensive enough to bring social peace.

In the same way we find complaint and suggestions for reform in the press, in literature, among philanthropists, public men, reform clubs, municipal ownership leagues, political parties. The criticisms may be local or national, they may concern one phase of life or many phases, the effect is the same. Much of this bitter criticism is true, well meant and of great value; some is undoubtedly dishonest, exaggerated and selfish; all serves to foster dissatisfaction, encourage pessimism and predispose minds to radical measures. Each

criticism is based on a different perspective and naturally reform propositions do not correspond. One result is that society is keenly conscious of the presence of great evils, but hopelessly confused about reform; partly awake to the situation and helpless before it; eager for peace, justice and joy for all its members, but not knowing where to find them.

There is in the human mind an overpowering tendency to unify its conceptions. Isolated fragmentary facts tantalize. They are of no value without interpretation, and they cannot interpret themselves. We seek relations among them, uniformities, laws, cause. To this bent of the mind is due all science, all philosophy. This constant effort to systematize things reveals the fact that system possesses a great fascination for the mind. It combines two elements which are seemingly at variance, both of which appeal to us strongly, simplicity and completeness. The small mind is won by the ease with which apparently a system is grasped; the greater mind is attracted by the completeness of detail, harmony of part and simplicity established after painstaking research. That many views of reality cohere in apparent unity is very often taken as *prima facie* evidence of their truth. Whenever the mind advances from the stage of disconnected experiences or views to a systematic view; that is, when it has classified many facts and secured a unified interpretation of them, as is the case, for example, with one who accepts the theory of evolution or the organic concept of society, certain well defined psychological changes take place. Correct appreciation of detail is apt to be lost, the critical faculty suffers, judgment is biased. The mind is predisposed to accept anything which strengthens its belief in the system as such and it is predisposed against everything which seems to question its truth.

This fascination of system, then, produces certain moral effects. It becomes a "cause," enthusiasm is engendered, schools are formed and it becomes more or less of a fashion. It seems that men are constantly on the lookout for something on which to lavish devotion and expend enthusiasm as well in science as in society. Exactness, caution and sense for detail—traits of the true scholar—do not lend themselves to such devotion as readily as does system.

Never before was the world more eager for system than it is today. In the natural sciences, in biological sciences, in history, philosophy, sociology, the quest is for system, unification. Facts are heaped mountain high awaiting the interpretation which system alone can give. This is particularly true in the social situation. The number and gravity of our problems cannot be gainsaid; but we are at a loss to understand them and their relations. Society feels the absolute need of reform, but it cannot devise a comprehensive

and safe method which will meet the situation in all of its details and at the same time safeguard what is of value in our institutions now. Socialism presents itself to society as an answer to its petition for guidance. Dressed out with all the charm of system and speaking with the confidence of a prophet, it offers the complete and satisfying interpretation of our problems and it indicates the single simple way that leads to the peace, joy and justice for which men are longing so earnestly. It is system in criticism and system in reform; it touches the instinct in society that makes for system, and by that touch it fascinates.

It was noted a moment ago that persistent criticism is emanating from nearly every centre of social influence; from religion, science, literature, from laborers and reformers in general. But these criticisms are more or less superficial, incomplete, isolated. Socialism replaces them by one deep, radical, comprehensive, systematic criticism of our entire social organization. It has attacked our most prized institutions fearlessly and has triumphantly claimed to have found in them the immediate organic cause of all social ills. It has a place for every fact, an interpretation for every misery, a key to every mystery. It has gone more deeply; it has claimed to find in the ultimate principle on which our institutions rest, Individualism, the single final cause of all the ills from which society suffers. Everything in the maze of modern misery is traced to its cause; great problems and lesser ones, national and local, distorted motives, evil tendencies—everything is classified. To the Socialist's thinking, the analysis is perfect, the system is without a flaw. The simplicity of the criticism is unparalleled, while its apparent completeness leaves nothing to be desired; it is plain enough for the laborer and pretentious enough for the scholar. The bold and confident tone with which socialism always speaks only adds to this fascination. It has no traditions to love, no past to revere, no institutions to cling to; the advocate of the victims of civilization and of them alone, it has no source whence to draw conservatism, patience or prudence. Where the isolated and divergent criticisms which are now heard harm one another and confuse, the unified radical criticisms of Socialism lend one another strength and confirmation. Under the baton of Socialism the mighty chorus of discontent sings in balanced harmony.

Socialism is also a systematic plan of social reconstruction. It offers to replace the hesitating and insufficient proposals of many reformers by one coördinated series of radical reforms which promise joy, peace and justice to all men. Laborers aim at one kind of reform, municipal movements at another, consumers' leagues at another, but they fail to understand one another or to give effective

mutual aid. Just as the criticism of Socialism carries one down to Individualism, the plan of reconstruction leads one to the antithesis, Socialism. It sets over against the cruel inhuman principle that to-day dominates industrial life—*laissez faire*—which being interpreted means, "Every man for himself," its own fervent and humane principle that all must live for each and each for all, that man is the highest object of care in the world and that all social institutions shall be subordinated to his true interests as man. Socialism has thus given unity to the reform idea, brought into it simplicity and completeness. The socialization of industry, the distribution of wealth according to a humane principle, the guarantee of opportunity to every one, the realization of our cherished ideals of life, liberty, culture and happiness—all these are promised as easy of accomplishment under the simple plan of social reorganization proposed. While other social critics are at variance, confused, hesitating and incomplete, it is unified, definite, confident and complete; while other reform forces are offering palliatives and measures which treat symptoms and not causes, it reaches causes and gives a philosophy which promises joy, peace and justice. The contrast is not without its effect; we must not forget it.

But Socialism has attempted to draw even more power from the charm of system. It has essayed to teach an interpretation of the Christian Gospel in which it, Socialism, appears as an essential part of the large religious organic conception of life. It has insisted through doctrinal and historical arguments on the kinship between itself and Christianity, but the effort has not resulted in any great success. It has reached out in the direction of materialism—its more natural tendency—and attempted to build up around itself an imposing system of thought, of which again it becomes an organic part. It offers a unified interpretation of history through materialistic philosophy, in which it appears as the fulfilment of prophecy, the realization of all the vital upward tendencies of the past, the goal of all the struggle and war of history for human rights and growth. It has devised its own economics and politics, its own psychology and sociology, its own ethics, literature and theology. To quote Schaeffle: "In reality it is a comprehensive philosophy of life as Bebel says; Atheism in religion, democratic republicanism in the State, democratic collectivism in economics, and we may add, boundless optimism in ethics, naturalistic materialism in metaphysics, loosening of the family tie and marriage bond or something leading thereto, in the home, State education in pedagogics, general 'illumination' in instruction."[2]

It would not be an easy matter to say just how much influence the

2 "Aussichtslosigkeit," etc., fourth edition, p. 4.

fascination of system has had in the development of Socialism. The psychological traits found frequently among its adherents would lead one to think that the influence had been considerable. Such are, for instance, the dogmatic tone, ready blindness to detail, poor critical sense, exaggerated confidence and evident bias; the "all or nothing" policy by which advanced Socialists reject "partial" Socialists, such as Fabians and all reformers who are willing to make compromise of any kind. It is sufficient to have suggested that the fascination of system is found in the movement; the purpose before us does not require that we attempt to measure it accurately.

Aside from all question of system there is in socialism a fascination of doctrine which gives it much power. It takes our best teaching on fundamental human rights, life, liberty, equality, happiness, and promises to construct a civilization which will safeguard them effectively for all men and not alone for the favored few. We have taken human rights as problems to be solved only by patient endeavor, and at best capable of but partial realization here below. We conceive man's development as toward larger liberty, greater equality and more widely-realized development, but at best the realization can be but partial and defective. Socialism takes these radical human rights as axioms; it makes them absolute and capable of actual realization. It promises that there will be liberty, equality, entire justice, not only in formal definition, but as well in fact. Wage slavery will follow political bondage to extinction, and no other form will succeed it; the aristocracy of money will follow the aristocracy of blood to a memory and there will be no other form to take its place; the struggling rich and the struggling poor will be replaced by fraternal coöperators, who will know no selfish motive and seek no selfish end. Poverty and vice and degradation and ignorance will be abolished and joy, peace and justice shall reign. "Socialists look forward to a time when three or four hours in twenty-four devoted to labor will be all that is required to supply every physical need, the remaining hours of the day to be devoted to rest and rational pleasure of mind and body, education, reading, study, the mastery of science and philosophy, music and the drama, athletics and esthetics. Now only the rich enjoy such satisfactions. Under Socialism all would be rich enough to have all the enjoyments derived from mind culture. This done, and there is no good reason why it should not be done, the world would have a new civilization and life would be worth the living."[3]

Socialism promises to make society anthropocentric; all institutions are to be devised and controlled in a way to protect human rights rather than to foster trade, as seems now to be the case, and

[3] "Social Democratic Herald," February 16, 1901.

human labor will be no longer a commodity, bought and sold like iron or coal. In the new order man is freed from individual blame for his errors and sins. Environment is the adequate cause of all misery; release will come not by personal effort and individual reform, but by the radical reform of environment, of society.

There is another element in the teaching of socialism which is more subtle, though less conscious; one which many would admit and many would deny, yet I think a source of power. Christ in His mission to mankind emphasized boldly and unmistakably the fact that the centre of life is beyond the clouds; that man's destiny is there; that thence must be taken the only absolute criterion which fixes all values in human life. The mysteries of life—and they are many and deep—cannot be explained except thereby. Thus it is that hope in a future life and future perfection have been and is and will be forever the characteristic of Christian civilization, and Christians will look for no redemption from social ills except through Christ. Such social reform as is undertaken in His spirit and such individual reform as is strengthened by His grace, such and no other can promise relief. This is the Christian's real belief; but the world is unfortunately growing tired of it. Socialism has essayed to reach into the clouds, snatch back the centre of life and place it on earth. Rights and obligations are to be explained in and through society; the enjoyment of perfection is to be immediate; the mysteries of life are merely unnecessary problems that social reform will explain away. For many of its adherents socialism is a religion; it captivates them, seems to satisfy the higher longings of their nature. In earlier days it sought to ally itself with religion, but its tendencies seem to be decidedly away from it and into materialism. It sometimes tries to distinguish between "churchianity" and religion. It condemns the former for "hollowness and soullessness; its petrifaction and false pretense; its fostering of prejudices, superstition and narrow sectarian exclusiveness; its tendency to side with the powerful and strong and preach slavish virtues to the humble and lowly proletarians; its blasphemous attempts to sanctify the crying injustices of the social institutions of their time and country." Socialism can, however, see some good in religion. It "may be of great assistance to secular Socialism by arousing the human passion for righteousness, by appealing to race instincts and noble emotions, by directing imagination to a grand vista of future human bliss and happiness, of heroic deeds, of self-sacrifice and martyrdom, of fame and glory, of immortality."[4] This attitude of socialism toward religion is not without effect, for it is a view which pleases those who are tired of restraint and seek comfortable ideals rather than high

[4] Both citations from "Social Democratic Herald," February 16, 1901.

ones. These and similar doctrines of socialism, which it is not necessary to mention, appeal strongly to many men. Individualism had not neglected to teach men their rights and dignity, but the form in which socialism presents them and promises realization has an added force. They touch the sense of human dignity and the instinct of justice in men. The apology of individualism was progress and its highest product a perfect business man; the apology of socialism is justice and its promised product a perfect human man.

We must not forget this, we who see so much to condemn, so much to fear and so much to oppose in socialism. Send its representative into a factory where all that is repulsive and annoying and oppressive in our institutions is concentrated on poor laborers whose awakened intelligence makes them restive. Let the facile-tongued apostle whisper of sunlight and shorter hours; of brighter home and happy life; of the reign of justice and humanity and the downfall of economic tyranny; send a second man into the mines with the same enticing and soothing message; send a third into the congested districts of our cities to harangue the multitudes and give promise of culture and joy to them as soon as the hated institutions of capitalism can be destroyed; send emissaries of the new gospel in all directions. At every spot where those institutions have pressed heavily and caused distress and blighted human lives let the orators speak. Let them speak to those who have everything to gain and nothing to lose except their misery about the idleness and corruption of the rich, the sufferings and dependence of the poor and of the coming kingdom of man, to be established when they, the people, will it. Send after these apostles the apologists of our institutions as they are or as we would reform them. Send them to teach that sin and self-indulgence are the causes of much misery, that human limitations permit only partial relief, that the mysteries of life cannot be explained here below, that the laws of social growth forbid radical departures in social organization, that our immediate aim can be scarcely more than that outlined in the recent encyclical—"to make the lives of the laborers and artisans more tolerable and gradually to give them the opportunity of self-culture, so that at home and in the world they may freely fulfil the obligations of virtue and religion, may feel themselves to be men and not mere animals, Christian men, not pagans, and so strive with more facility and earnestness to attain the 'one thing needful'—that final good for which we came into the world." Let the socialist teach the people their untried strength and let us try to show them their demonstrated weakness; let the former give them enthusiasm in their suffering and let us offer them only patience. Let all of this be done and then we may wonder not that there are socialists,

but that there are not thousands where now there is one. Reason and experience tell us that we are right and that the socialist is advocating an impossibility, but there are times in life when reason and experience cannot overcome the seductions of hope and the illusions of an excited imagination. This is the case with those who suffer keenly and eagerly seek relief. Socialism enjoys certain advantages of situation which merit some attention. It is the untried ideal of attacking the defective real. It can and does concentrate all the odium which it can excite against the past on the institutions of the present. It need not discriminate as to causes, since it is not required that it be accurate in establishing relations of cause and effect in social ills. It presents itself as the champion of the oppressed and shows all the dash, vigor and aggressiveness of an ideal champion. We, on the contrary, appear to be at least indifferent to the oppressed and to be the champions of the favorites of fortune, since we preach conservatism and hold to our institutions in substance. The admitted evils of the present social organization —the economic, intellectual and moral waste, not to speak of the unnecessary suffering and disappointment which we see on every side—defy apology and invite the thought that we who defend a system in which they are possible are not the friends of mankind. The socialist need not exaggerate; the actual condition shames our institutions. He, however, cannot be criticized except theoretically, for socialism has no history as the basis of social life.

Then, too, we must not forget that the day of pure individualism is past and that socialism represents a set of principles and institutions toward which—if not to which—we are tending. The trust, the trade union, government enterprises and government monopoly have latent in them an unmistakable sign of it. Phases of our school system, such as free text books, transportation to and from school, show us the same, while all factory laws, reform legislation and the constant extension of public functions in all directions show that the drift is strong. This whole complex movement is exactly in the line that socialism has marked for itself. True, the tone and language are still individualistic, but we seem to forget that in backing out of individualism we move toward socialism. The following from Kautsky, a recognized Socialist thinker, expresses well the position in modern life which socialism marks out for itself: "The proletariat, as the lower stratum of society, cannot free itself without putting an end to all oppression and exploitation. So wherever the class-conscious proletariat has become a power, it becomes the advocate of all the oppressed, of oppressed classes, oppressed nations, of an oppressed race, as far as their interest do not conflict with those of the social evolution. Out of this historical

rôle there develop for the proletariat duties which are beyond its direct class interests. But this does not fill out the circle of social duties which the class-conscious, aggressive proletariat has assumed.

"It cannot free itself by the principle of the wages system. It is necessary to put an end to the present institution of property and method of production, a high social end must be set up—and it is the only class to-day that cherish an ideal. It is the only revolutionary class, that is . . . which aims at a social ideal . . . the only class in which there is any idealism.

"Thus, out of the class struggle of the proletariat arises the highest ethical power, consecration to an ideal and the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat is the ground where the idealists of all classes . . . in modern society unite.

"The more revolutionary, the more ideal the proletarian class struggle becomes; the more it emphasizes its final aim, the greater is its ethical power, its power for the moral regeneration of the proletariat."[5]

In the preceding pages an attempt was made to show that socialism possesses the two-fold fascination of system and of doctrine and that its position gives it certain advantages which should not be overlooked. It is not my desire to make a consecutive analysis now to show just where and how these sources of attraction operate in the socialistic movement. To have suggested that they do operate is sufficient. We may then advance to a brief consideration of the question, who are the socialists?

The general answer is—the victims of our institutions and those who sympathize with them. The propertyless class is, of course, most fully represented, and by that is meant the laboring class. We must, however, take care lest an exaggerated impression be conveyed. The immense majority of laborers are really indifferent to the whole situation, at least such is the case in the United States. Not over one-ninth of them belong to organizations; the number is about 1,200,000. As a body organized labor is not socialistic; on the other hand, it is not at all opposed to socialism on principle. The columns of the labor press are open to the most active socialistic propaganda; recognized socialists are active in the movement and entire freedom is allowed to all concerning it. The labor movement has a concentrated purpose; it has set out to strengthen itself and to accomplish certain reforms. It regards socialism as a distraction, but as soon as it sees that socialism will best accomplish that purpose, the movement is prepared to embrace it. The exposition of the laborer's point of view which the writer attempted in the January *Quarterly* might be of service to those who would wish

[5] In "Die Neue Zeit," November 24, 1900, article "Klassenkampf und Ethik."

to examine the relations of socialism to the labor movement more in detail. The brief observations here made may call attention to the fact that socialistic sentiment and sympathy for its ideals are much more widespread than many think or are willing to admit. The total Socialist vote in 1900 in the United States is reported in the press as 131,069, but the number of those who actively sympathize with all that socialism represents is very much greater. If I mistake not, Professor Ely has estimated the number in the United States as half a million.

There are certain types of temperament which are attracted to socialism. Natures inclined to hate are easily won, for such a disposition is pessimistic and the very life of socialism lies therein. The fierce denunciation of institutions, resentful criticism of all inequality in the enjoyments of the comforts of life have a certain charm for this type of man, who may pay little attention to economic doctrine or social ideals; he is content in his hate; he does not aspire to upbuild and may not even long for anything better. Those of milder type, "who live of their admirations rather than of their disgusts," find much that allures in the bright promises and buoyant enthusiasm of socialism. Idealists and dreamers naturally follow them. Fine natures which cannot easily bear the thought of pain and suffering and are angered to rage when they see villainy successful, vice triumphant and virtue persecuted or unrewarded have much sympathy with socialism. They are natures which are noble, but untaught in the school of stern reality; natures which have not yet learned that idealism is a good beacon light for civilization, but a poor foundation. I recall one socialist who in reply to my question, "What made you a socialist?" replied laconically, "Hate." He was born very poor and had suffered much. I recall a second whose love of order and harmony was so great that he became an active socialist; a third was one whose socialism was due to the massive dishonesty practiced and implicitly approved in all branches of business. I recall a fourth, who was a believer in free love and worked and wrote for socialism in the hope that the movement would further his unholy cause.

One will find that in public meetings of socialists the orators appeal often to sentiments such as those referred to. The most plausible socialist speech that I ever heard was in Chicago some years ago, when an able man addressed the socialists in a very poor quarter of the city. He merely told his hearers how the then Vice President of the United States had become a millionaire by going through bankruptcy three times. The attempt to argue socialists out of their views seems, therefore, to rest on a false assumption that argument makes the socialist. One who has had much experience

with socialists knows how useless it is to try to affect them by reasoning. Some time ago a prominent university professor made a long and learned argument against socialism before a socialist meeting in an Eastern city. When he had finished, a laborer, poorly clad, who spoke with a foreign accent, remarked, "He don't know anything about it; he never shoveled coal." If we wish to understand a man's socialism, we must study his life and know his feelings.

The course of thought has led us from the consideration of socialism to that of the socialist. If we now undertake to construct his point of view, we need only work out in detail what has been said in outline. As far as socialists come from the ranks of organized labor, their point of view is merely one more advanced than that of the laborer, but both are largely identical. There is the same despair of help through government, the same sense of resentment, of injustice, the same consciousness of a high and holy mission to save humanity. There is this difference: the laborer's analysis is less deep or less pretentious and his immediate hopes are far less high. The socialist has completed his thinking, while the laborer has not. The socialism of those who have not gone through the labor movement may be a question of temperament, of personal experience. That there may be some, many, if you will, who have reasoned themselves into socialism I do not pretend to deny; that the argument may have been poor, that it may have been skilful, is a question of fact as much as of effect. All of this is true of any argument or of its presentation; it is true of any system of thought in the world. In all life much depends on temperament and circumstance. There is much in socialism that is possible and much in it that is desirable, just as there is much in present conditions that is hideous and depressing. Hence there is an argument for the one and against the other. Without questioning the validity of either argument, we may safely question the rôle which the argument for socialism plays in its propaganda. No attempt has been made to offer an objective study of socialism; its theory of value, its view of history, psychology or politics was not examined. Nor was the purpose to show how much in socialism is helpful or how much dangerous. Where dissent has been expressed it concerned the socialism which is idealistic, comprehensive, final; it was not the intention to condemn thereby what is hopeful or useful in its essential idea. It seemed desirable to call attention to the attractiveness of socialism in the hope of awakening thought and arousing action.

The social conscience is still largely dormant in the United States. It is appalling that in the presence of the gigantic evils of modern society there should remain so much of indifference in

public opinion. Public leaders, legislatures, men high in industrial life seem not to heed the situation too lightly. Some among them are interested, but the mighty force which all could exert for the cause of humanity is not exercised at all. Difficult situations have rapidly multiplied themselves. Up from among the ranks of the victims have sprung movements and leaders who were stung to bitterness by their suffering and stirred to action by the indifference of those to whom they looked for protection. Trade unionism and socialism are the products of such circumstances. To them we must give credit for forcing society to know its wrongs. They have a lesson for us. Political and industrial leaders and legislators must admit their responsibility and come to give relief; public opinion must force them. Religion will give its aid. Its representatives must study and know conditions and interpret moral obligation to meet normal social demands. We who in and of the Catholic faith feel and know that we have the truth, and with it a superb and active organization which is the greatest social power on earth, we must rise to the occasion and meet it. We must study social science and fit ourselves; we must study the organic relation of the Church to society and form a social conscience; we must bravely follow its dictates and assist in the work of reform. The Church has already done this in Europe, but it must be done here. The age is drifting to the conviction that the last decisive test of any religion is its power to solve the social question. The test should be welcomed by us, for the Catholic Church can meet the situation and bring social peace.

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CATHOLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

AMONG the striking phenomena in the educational world at the present time is the movement observable in the domain of secondary education.[1] The mere numerical growth of the secondary schools is remarkable enough. Within the past decade the public high schools in the United States increased in number from 2,526 to 5,495, and the pupils from 202,963 to 476,227. This is an increase of 117 per cent. in the number of schools and 135 per cent. in attendance. The rate of increase in the number of pupils is nearly

[1] The term "secondary" throughout this paper is used in the sense which generally attaches to it in this country and in which it is used by the National Bureau of Education. It embraces the work between the grammar grades and the college.

five times that of the population of the country during the same period, and is rightly regarded by Commissioner Harris as "one of the most remarkable facts in the educational history of the decade."[2]

But this numerical increase is only one of a series of phenomena which evidence the action of a cause or of causes profoundly affecting the whole status of secondary education. Side by side with the growth in numbers there has been a movement making for the increased efficiency of the public high schools. The standard of scholarship in the teachers has steadily risen. The curriculum has been enriched and extended. In most places its length is now four years, but here and there it is being prolonged to six, and the strong current setting in this direction is made plain by the adoption of a resolution recently by the National Educational Association favoring "a unified six-year high school course of study beginning with the seventh grade."[3] At the same time the ideals and spirit of the school have broadened, the principle of election of studies along broad lines has been introduced, and the requirements for entrance and graduation have been so raised that the claim is made that the public high school of to-day is almost the equal in these respects of the college of a generation or two ago.

The relation of the high school to the college has also undergone an important change. The original purpose of the public high school seems to have been simply to place within reach of the masses the opportunity for an education superior to that of the elementary school. The college interests were not considered. In fact, at the time the high school movement began, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, there already existed a system of secondary schools known as academies, one of whose principal objects was to prepare boys for college. To-day the public high school system, comprising 82 per cent. of the secondary students of the country, is securely linked to the State college system, and the natural evolution of the present conditions can only result in binding the two together more firmly.

Among the causes which have operated to bring about this affiliation, legislation must be mentioned. The Board of Regents, in New York, and the Boards of Education in the various States, afford familiar instances of the influence of legislation in this direction. The Accrediting System, by which the graduates of certain specified schools are admitted to a college without examination, has also contributed powerfully to the same result, and it is being practised to-day by some institutions on a scale that may help to account for their rapid increase in attendance. In 1896 there were forty-two State

[2] Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1898-99, p. 1,844. [3] Proceedings of the National Educational Association, 1899, p. 659.

universities and colleges and about 150 other institutions in which this system had been adopted.[4] The University of Michigan has now 200 on its list of formally accredited schools, and more than one-half the freshmen who entered Cornell last year were admitted without examination, on the certificates of their respective high schools.[5] Another strong influence which has made for closer union between high school and college has been their coöperation in joint associations. There is the National Educational Association, the associations for the several groups of States, besides those for the individual States, and in all of these bodies the schools and colleges meet upon common ground, discuss matters of mutual interest, and coöperate for the solution of problems common to both school and college, but which from their very nature neither can successfully solve alone. Such a problem is that of uniform entrance requirements for colleges. A plan has been formed to establish a joint entrance examination board, composed of school and college representatives, which is to give uniform examinations that will suffice for both high school graduation and admission to college, and it is now being put to a practical test by the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland. This is an attempt to complete, at a single stroke, the work of unification, and if successful it is likely to have important consequences. Catholic educators may watch the experiment with profit.

"Public education," a distinguished Catholic educator has said, "is a people's deliberate effort to form a nobler race of men." The position of the secondary school, between the primary and the higher education, makes it naturally the chief point of stress for the application of this progressive educative effort. The secondary school is the hinge upon which the modern educational system turns. In Germany the new ideals in education, springing from the new industrial and political conditions and the new ideals of national life, have found expression chiefly in the present movement for the reform of the gymnasium; and in France, outside of the religious question altogether, as well as in other nations of Europe, the burning questions of the day in education concern the secondary schools. In America the secondary school is more important than anywhere else. From its academic independence it is able to influence powerfully the higher education; while, through its organic relation to the primary school, it is able to reach the masses and mold their intellectual ideals. In America, as nowhere else, the public secondary school opens up to the whole people, irrespective of social conditions, the possibility of fullest mental development. It brings the rudiments of the higher culture to the threshold of every home, and offers to

[4] Education in the United States, Vol. I., p. 125. [5] President Schurman's Report, 1899-1900.

every child a free and easy passage to the open gates of the college. It is preëminently "the people's college." It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the public high school movement, whose surface manifestations I have touched upon, is the expression of a popular demand for more and better education, and that it is destined to exercise a profound and far-reaching influence in shaping the education of the future.

In view of these conditions it seems opportune to inquire into the status of Catholic secondary education.

Catholic secondary schools for boys belong to three widely different classes. There is, first of all, the secondary school proper, represented by academies and high schools, whose curriculum as a rule extends no farther than the freshman year, although in the other direction it generally includes the studies of the grammar school. Many of the institutions of this class are of long standing, but a large number are of a comparatively recent date, probably one-third having been established within the past decade. Most of them are conducted by religious orders, and are entirely independent of parish control, deriving their means of support from the tuition fees of their pupils. Then, there are the high schools attached to parochial schools. These high schools consist of one or more grades of secondary work, serving as a sort of appendix to the ordinary work of the school, although they often carry the pupil as far as the freshman year. The number of these schools has increased very rapidly of late, and although their total attendance is comparatively inconsiderable and their methods often open to criticism, yet, as instancing an increasing popular demand for secondary education, and as pointing the way to a possible solution of problems of Catholic secondary education, they are worthy of serious study. Finally, there are the preparatory departments of our colleges, which still contain the majority of Catholic secondary students.

With the view of ascertaining some facts not otherwise attainable, I sent a letter of inquiry to each of the ninety secondary schools of the first class, and received replies from forty-nine. In these forty-nine schools the number of students of high school grade was given as 2,947, and of elementary grade 4,917. There were 992 boys studying Latin, and 244 in Greek. The average age of pupils in forty-seven schools when entering the high school curriculum is 14.7 years. The average annual tuition fee, if we exclude those schools that aim at educating only the wealthier classes, was found to be $36.85 in forty schools. The number of schools not answering my letter of inquiry was forty-one. The total number of students in these last year, as given in the Catholic Directory for 1901, was 6,706. Assuming that the ratio of secondary to elementary pupils obtained

in the case of the schools heard from holds good for these also—although I think it is somewhat too high for the latter—we get for these forty-one schools 2,513 pupils of secondary grade and 4,193 of elementary. This would give a total of 5,460 students of secondary grade in the ninety Catholic secondary schools.

In reflecting on these results, one is struck by the comparatively large number of pupils pursuing the classics. Those studying Greek constitute 8.3 per cent. of the whole number of secondary pupils in the schools reporting. The percentage of pupils in the public high schools studying Greek is only 3.1.[6] Those studying Latin are 37.5 per cent. of the whole, a number which compares favorably with the 50.4 per cent. in Latin in the public high schools, when we remember that some of the religious orders most prominent in secondary school work do not teach the classics at all, and the further fact that in the twenty-five schools reporting pupils in Latin their percentage was as high as 66.5.

The average age of entrance upon secondary studies is much higher than I had expected. It is quite as high as in the case of the public schools, and invites serious attention to the need of shortening and enriching the curriculum of the elementary school—a problem that far-seeing educators like President Eliot long ago pointed out as of fundamental importance to college as well as school.

It is interesting to compare the cost of secondary education in Catholic and in public secondary schools. The Commissioner of Education has kindly furnished me with some statistics relative to the cost of public high school education, from which it appears that the average annual cost per pupil for salaries and incidentals in ten of the principal cities of the country is $52.44. The average annual tuition fee in forty Catholic secondary schools is, as stated, about $37. As the only source of revenue to these schools is the tuition fees, it is safe to say that secondary education in the Catholic school costs considerably less than in the public high school.

So far as the efficiency of Catholic secondary schools of this class is concerned, such examination as I have been able to make has convinced me that they will fairly bear comparison with the preparatory schools in our colleges. There are exceptions, it is true. There are secondary schools, graduation from which would not fit for the freshman year in any reputable college, just as there are colleges whose preparatory curriculum is inferior to that of any reputable high school. But in general, making due allowance for the fact that many of our secondary schools are commercial in character, I believe that our college preparatory departments have little to offer the Catholic boy in the way of educational facilities beyond what he

[6] Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1898-99.

can get, often nearer home and at lesser cost, in the Catholic secondary school.

Catholic high schools attached to elementary schools are represented in the current report of the Commissioner of Education by fifty-three schools, with an attendance of 646 boys and 1,342 girls. This is an average of twelve boys to a school. These schools are mostly in the hands of the various orders of teaching nuns, and are nearly all co-educational. Most of them offer four grades or years of high school work, although the average number of teachers to a school is only three. It is worthy of note that the pupils preparing for college in these high schools formed 9.6 per cent. of the whole. In the public high schools those preparing for college form 11.6 per cent of the whole.[7] The comparatively large number preparing for college in Catholic secondary schools of this class is a fact of highest interest for college men, and suggests what might be expected in the way of increased college attendance, if we had a comprehensive, efficient and well articulated system of parochial high schools.

The list of Catholic secondary schools of this class given in the Report of the Commissioner of Education is, however, far from being exhaustive. Scattered over the country are hundreds of other parochial schools in which one or more grades of high school studies are taught, the general disposition being to keep the pupils, especially the brighter ones, as long as possible. The total of attendance, however, is not large. Thus in the Archdiocese of Boston there are a number of schools of this class not enumerated above, but the total of secondary pupils amounts, in the case of boys, to but 108. It is no uncommon thing to find a school of several hundred pupils with half a dozen or so of secondary grade, who stand in about the same relation to the rest of the school as do the "post-grads" in a small college, and who pursue their studies in much the same loose and leisurely way. Sometimes a number of these inchoate high schools are found in the same city, and we have the condition of a series of ill-supported rival establishments, where not more than a single one is needed or can be successful. In such cases, so far from the high schools being a source of strength to the parochial schools, as they could not fail to be if combined in one central, well graded institution, they become only an element of weakness and a drag, because the teaching they get, scant and feeble as it may be, has to be subtracted from that which is due the elementary grades. There is an enormous waste of energy going on in this way in our schools. Nevertheless, the attempt to project the parochial school beyond what has been hitherto regarded as its proper limits, seems

[7] Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1898-99.

to be in answer to a popular demand, and is doubtless destined to continue. The movement is bright with possibilities, for the secondary schools of this class, however unsatisfactory and open to criticism they may be in some respects at present, constitute a firm forward step in the work of bridging over the gap that now separates Catholic higher education from the parochial schools.

In estimating the number of collegiate and secondary students in Catholic colleges, I have classed as colleges all institutions recognized as such by the Commissioner of Education, and have added such others as I could ascertain to have an actual collegiate attendance. This gave a list of sixty-eight Catholic colleges. The total number of students in these, as given in the current Catholic Directory, is 12,031. If we take the estimate of Dr. O'Malley,[8] made in 1898 and based on direct investigation, that the proportion of preparatory to collegiate students in our colleges is as two to one, then the number of collegiate students in the sixty-eight Catholic colleges would be 4,010, and the preparatory or secondary students would number 8,021. This is somewhat more than a majority of the total number of Catholic secondary students.

The statistics of Catholic secondary schools for girls are interesting and instructive. The total number of academies for girls, given by the Commissioner of Education,[9] is 233, with an attendance of 8,238 pupils of secondary grade and 22,957 of elementary. To these must be added 386 other academies given in the Catholic Directory, with a total attendance of 41,853. Assuming the same ratio of secondary to elementary pupils as in the case of the academies given in the report of the Commissioner, there would be 11,294 secondary pupils in these 386 academies. Besides these, there are also the 1,342 female pupils in the secondary grades attached to elementary parochial schools. This would make a total of 20,874 girls of secondary grade in all classes of Catholic schools. The number is undoubtedly somewhat too high, for some of the academies ranked as secondary schools by the Bureau of Education deserve a place among the colleges, and many others, while rightly to be regarded in the main as secondary schools, have some students of collegiate standing. As a matter of fact, there are only two Catholic institutions for girls that are recognized by the Bureau of Education as colleges.

We are prepared now to estimate the probable numerical strength of Catholic education in proportion to the total Catholic population. The following table is a summary of the results of my investigation on this point, and shows the ratio of attendance in each class of Catholic schools to the Catholic population, compared with the ratio

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[8] *Catholic World*, 50, 399.

[9] Report for 1898-99.

of attendance in all schools of the class in question throughout the country to the total population of the country. As the ratio of percentage would be too small for the purpose of this comparison, I have chosen as more convenient the ratio of 1 to 10,000. It appears, then, that there are,

FOR EACH 10,000 OF RESPECTIVE POPULATION:[10]

	Elementary students.	Secondary students.		Students in higher education.
	Male and Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.
In Catholic institutions.....	898	13	19	4
In the entire United States.....2,143		39	49	8[11]

These figures show that our educational institutions, including all classes of schools except seminaries, have only from about one-third to one-half of the number of students they ought to have. Not that it is to be inferred, necessarily, that no more than this proportion of our Catholic youth are being educated. Undoubtedly, a large proportion are receiving their education in institutions other than Catholic; but I am loath to believe that the number of these is large enough to account for the above differences. Nevertheless, the explanation must be either that our Catholic youth are not getting as much education as the youth of the country generally, or that Catholic parents, to a far greater extent than is commonly believed, and in every department of education, are sending their children to institutions that are non-Catholic, or else that both of these conditions obtain, and this last seems to me the most likely explanation.

It is to be observed that the lowest level of numerical strength is reached in the case of secondary schools for boys. The attendance here, it seems, falls short by two-thirds of what it ought to be. In the case of our colleges, if we exclude from consideration the large number in non-Catholic institutions who are following what I have classed as non-collegiate courses, the attendance is just one-half of the normal. Contrary to a widespread impression, it appears that our academies for girls have less than one-half of their due proportion of secondary pupils. The number of academies is indeed very great, amounting all told to 672, but in most of them the secondary pupils are comparatively few, and probably the great

[10] The population of the United States is taken for the year 1898, from the Report of the Bureau of Education for 1898-99. The Catholic population is from the *Catholic Directory* for 1901. [11] The number of students represented by this figure was gotten by subtracting from the total in higher education in the United States as given in the Report of the Bureau of Education, students of law, medicine, theology, technology (in technological institutes), dentistry, pharmacy and other technical branches, and all women students, as these classes are not, as a rule, found in Catholic colleges.

majority of the academies are in the main little more than select elementary schools.

These statistics make it plain, in a concrete way, that the problem of the future for the Church in America is the problem of education. We are still far from the realization of that noble ideal of Catholic education set forth so clearly and eloquently, and with such authoritative insistence, by our ecclesiastical councils, especially the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore—the ideal of a system of Catholic schools in articulate and harmonious coöperation, numerous enough and well distributed enough to accommodate our entire school population, and embracing parochial school, high school, college and university. Much, indeed, has been done. Foundations have been laid strong and deep, all along the lines of the national system of education. Magnificent beginnings have been made, notwithstanding the general poverty of our people up to the present, and the powerful attractions of the State schools, to whose support they have been obliged by law to contribute; and the records of education the world over may safely be challenged for evidence of a zeal so great, of a generosity so self-sacrificing and sustained, of practical results so conspicuous, in the cause of learning. But we must not forget that with all this the structure is still far from being complete. It is going to take much time, self-sacrifice and coöperative effort to bring the Catholic educational system, in certain important respects, notably in comprehensiveness and unity, up to the condition of the State system of schools. In the meantime, the latter are not going to wait for us. As I have indicated, in numbers, in efficiency, in closer union among themselves and with the colleges, they are making wonderful strides. Under these conditions it will not do to simply hold our own. To halt would mean inevitably to retrograde and fall behind. If Catholic education is to continue to function as a healthful, growth-producing process in the Church's life, it must advance and expand with the advancing and expanding intellectuality of the modern world.

How shall we best apply our efforts, under these circumstances, for the improvement of Catholic education? I believe it to be by building up, as the connecting link between parochial school and college, a system of schools parallel, as nearly as may be, to the system of public high schools; and this not only because the secondary school, from whatever side we view it, is the weakest point in our educational system, but because it is through the secondary school, and through it alone, that we can effectually strengthen and uplift the parochial school and the college.

It is not difficult to see how the establishment of Catholic high schools will benefit the colleges. Whether the fact that the number

of students in our colleges is so far below the normal is to be explained on the theory that the rest go to non-Catholic colleges or do not go to college at all, or by the operation of both these causes combined, the lack of Catholic secondary schools must be considered as a cause more fundamental still. Of the Catholic boys attending the public high schools, it is inevitable that most of those who go to college will drift into the non-Catholic colleges. The gap between the public school and the Catholic college is too great. Their studies, their methods, their spirit and ideals are widely different. They belong to two fundamentally divergent systems of education. Take it in the matter of the classics, for instance. Only a little over three per cent. of the public secondary pupils study Greek. It is one of the most unpopular branches in the high school. Yet many of our colleges will not admit to the freshman class without Greek. The practical consequence is that whereas the high school graduate who has not taken Greek is welcomed to the State university, he may not be able to enter the freshman class in the Catholic college without extra preparation or irksome conditions. On the other hand, the path from the public school to the State university is short, straight and enticingly easy. The high school diploma often admits without examination. The last year of the high school is made to dove-tail into the freshman curriculum. There is no gap, no break, no jar of any kind. It is an interlocking, double-action combination. The lack of endowment in our colleges is, of course, an element of importance here. The foundation of scholarships would unquestionably operate in favor of increased attendance; but it may reasonably be questioned, I think, whether, even if our colleges were not behindhand in this respect, the fact would be sufficient to offset the strong current now flowing in the other direction, since Catholic boys would have equally good chances for financial assistance in the non-Catholic institutions.

If, on the other hand, we accept the hypothesis that the falling off of the attendance in Catholic institutions is due, in whole or in part, to the fact that Catholic youth, owing to the general poverty of our people, do not get as much education as the children of their fellow-citizens, the argument for the Catholic high school rests on reasons none the less cogent. The poverty of the majority of Catholics is a fact not to be gainsaid. It undoubtedly diminishes their opportunities for education, and is certainly responsible, to some extent, for the comparatively low attendance at Catholic institutions. But since the Church discountenances the acceptance by her children of the lavish opportunities for education offered them by the State, are we not bound to provide for them opportunities not inferior to those provided in the public schools? In a democracy like ours and in times

of universal education such as these, education is, ordinarily speaking, the measure of influence and success. To be without it is to be to that extent crippled for the race of life. To be deprived of opportunity for it is to be robbed of that which is, after religion, best and most ennobling in life. Surely we cannot look without concern upon conditions by which any class of the Church's children are deprived of educational opportunities to which they are entitled. Yet such conditions obtain. Taught to distrust the public schools, Catholic parents, in the absence of Catholic high schools, too often come to look upon the completion of the parochial school curriculum as the natural term of the mental development of the child.

The preparatory departments of our colleges are not a satisfactory substitute for a system of Catholic high schools. Purely from the point of view of college interests, much might be said against the continued union of preparatory school and college, for it may be questioned, I think, whether collegiate attendance depends so much as is commonly supposed upon the presence of preparatory departments in the colleges. A record of observation, telling how many third year preparatory boys in any given college kept on through the college course to graduation would be highly interesting and instructive. However, I am concerned now, not with the relations of preparatory school and college, but simply to state the reasons for my contention that our preparatory departments are not acceptable substitutes for Catholic high schools in the case of pupils who do not intend to go to college—and it is pupils of this class that constitute nine-tenths of all secondary students. Besides the fact that the day colleges are neither numerous nor well distributed enough, the distance between the parochial school and the college is too great. The absolutely private character of our colleges, so far as management is concerned, seems to make anything like close affiliation with the parochial school system a difficult if not an impossible matter. Moreover, the curriculum of the preparatory school looks chiefly, if not solely, to the interests of boys who are fitting themselves for college. In many colleges no attempt whatever is made to reach out after the great mass of boys of secondary grade, by providing courses of study that shall offer opportunities to fit more directly for active life. But the chief reason that militates against the preparatory departments is the fact of expense. Education cannot be given as cheaply, grade for grade, in the college as it can in the secondary school. The average annual tuition fee of $37 in forty of our secondary schools, including many of the strongest schools of this class, is far less than the average annual tuition fee for day scholars in the preparatory departments of our colleges; and it is to be noted that the tendency in many col-

leges is steadily towards the increase of tuition and other fees. I am aware that some colleges in the larger cities have reduced their rates to a comparatively low figure and are making heroic sacrifices in order to give the children of the poor a chance; but, speaking generally, the cost of tuition and its inseparable accompaniments in college preparatory departments puts it entirely beyond the reach of many parents who could and would send their children to a free or cheap Catholic high school. How many there are who are prevented in this way from giving their children an education superior to that of the parochial school, may be a matter for dispute; but it is worth remembering that an investigation made some years ago in the case of the public high school pupils in a number of the principal cities of Massachusetts, revealed the fact that fully 25 per cent. were children of parents who were too poor to possess taxable property.[12]

Parochial schools, even more than the colleges, will benefit by the establishment of a system of Catholic high schools. "Progress," says Bishop Spalding, "spreads from the summits." The greatest need of the parochial school at the present time is the stimulus that would come from affiliation with a superior school. The impetus given to parochial school education by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore has largely subsided, and there is evident in many quarters a growing spirit of indifference. The number of pupils, which increased very rapidly in the decade immediately following the promulgation of the decrees of the Council, is still less than one-half of the normal, and in the last half dozen years, as the tables of the Catholic Directory prove, the increase in parochial school attendance has not kept pace with the increase of the Catholic population.

Nor have the expected results followed from the general adoption of the elaborate scheme of examination and supervision devised by the Council. The practical difficulties in the way of the efficient enforcement of the plan are immense, and although a great deal of progress has been made in some dioceses, in many others things run on much the same as before the examining boards and committees were appointed. In many places the parochial schools are still deplorably in need of definite and regular grading. There is much confusion in the matter of text-books, preventing any approach to a common standard of grades. Many of the religious orders have their own series of text-books, and in the larger cities, where the religious orders often work side by side, the variety of text-books is a frequent source of trouble and expense. The influence of a Catholic high school, with which all the parochial schools of a city would

[12] *Educational Review*, 2, 48.

be affiliated, would tend to eliminate these and similar defects. It would set the standard of a definite quantity and quality of work, and school grading and substantial uniformity in grades and text-books would follow as a matter of course. Above all, the Catholic high school would benefit the parochial school by strengthening and elevating its tone, by awakening a sense of healthful ambition and rivalry in both pupil and teacher. Experienced parochial school teachers with whom I have discussed the matter assure me that it is this lack of tone, due to the absence of conditions that inspire intellectual ambition, that constitutes the most deadening and difficult evil they have to contend against. A boy who is ambitious to go to the high school will do better work, as a rule, than one who is not, and parochial school teachers would find in the establishment of Catholic high schools a most effective remedy for the pupil's disinclination to home study. The annual entrance examination for the high school would become a test of the strength and competitive standing of the various schools, and would spur the teachers on to the best possible work in their respective spheres. These convictions, I may add, are not based upon fancy or speculation, but are the result of a careful study of the influence of Catholic high schools actually existing, and of the views of those most competent to discuss parochial school conditions and problems the country over.

I have said nothing thus far about practical plans for overcoming the difficulties in the way of the establishment of Catholic high schools. The difficulties are certainly not slight, but the chief difficulty does not consist in any lack of practical plans. There are several admirable plans in successful operation, that may be studied in the concrete by any one. There is the plan of the free, endowed high school, such as the magnificent Catholic High School in Philadelphia; there is the free high school supported by the funds of the parish or parishes, as in New England; there is the high school supported by the tuition fees of the pupils, and in charge of a religious order. There are plenty of religious men and women for the work of Catholic secondary schools, and with the inevitable evacuation of the field of the parochial school by religious men, these ought to be available in increasing numbers for their greater, more pressing and more proper work in the secondary school.

The main obstacle in the way of the Catholic high school movement lies deeper than the question of means. It is due rather to widespread lack of faith in the utility and desirability of Catholic high schools, and it is not confined to the laity. Pastors who are zealous enough in the cause of the parochial school disavow belief in the necessity or possibility of Catholic high schools, and

permit without scruple the attendance of Catholic children at the public high school. Men in the walks of higher education look with coldness or disfavor upon the project of a system of Catholic high schools, out of the fear that they might injure existing institutions. The result is apathy and indifference well-nigh universal.

And yet what sound reason can be given, outside of the reason of necessity, why the Catholic parent should be freely allowed to send his child to the public school in the one case and strictly forbidden in the other? Is there less need of the religious instruction and moral tone of the Catholic school for the boy of 16 than for the lad of 12? Are the dangers of companionship less great in the public high school than they are in the grammar school? Does the subject matter of the lessons or lectures bear less upon matters of morals and religion? As a matter of fact, it is in the high school that the boy gets his first world-view of things. Literature and history are the two eyes through which the soul scans the universe of human life. Is it tolerable that the view may be distorted or colored for the Catholic boy by non-Catholic bias? If history and literature may be studied in the public school without danger to faith, why may not, with greater reason, grammar and arithmetic? If the boy of 16, with his ripening passions and impressionable moral nature, may live in a "godless" atmosphere without harm, why may not the boy of 12, with his less developed impulses to evil? And the same argument would apply, with no less truth and cogency, to the question of higher education. There is really no more reason to prevent a Catholic boy from going to a non-Catholic college than there is to prevent his going to a public high school. The logical applicability to parochial school and college of any general principle that may be admitted for the secondary schools is too plain to be missed by even the most ignorant, and the present widespread attitude of indifference in respect to Catholic high schools must, if continued, extend eventually to the parochial schools and the colleges, and profoundly affect the entire system of Catholic education.

It is because of the realization of this that our ecclesiastical councils, in conformity with the instructions of the Holy See, have insisted so strongly and steadfastly upon the necessity for a complete system of Catholic schools, along the lines of the national education, and that our ablest and most far-seeing leaders are devoting so much of their practical efforts in education to the building up of Catholic secondary schools in their respective dioceses. The vast expansion of public secondary schools in recent years, the rapid educational evolution going on visibly about us, with the possibility of the complete unification of all public education, makes the question of Catholic high schools, with which that of the systematization

of Catholic education is intimately bound up, a vital and a pressing problem for Catholics. It commends itself especially to the attention and earnest study of Catholic educators. The present conditions are abnormal and illogical, and, in the nature of things, must operate to the detriment of the religious as well as the educational interests of our people. In the words of one whose abilities and experience entitle him to rank as an authority: "There is far less danger in allowing young children to attend the ward schools and young men to attend the non-Catholic technical schools and universities, than in permitting the frequentation of the non-Catholic high schools and academies. We believe it would be better to frankly accept the public school system as a whole and make special provisions for supplying its deficiencies in religious teaching than to expose our children to the influence of a dual system."[13]

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TWO CENTURIES OF CATHOLICITY IN DETROIT.

THE authentic documentary records of two centuries of Catholicity in Detroit commence with the dedication of a chapel in honor of the mother of the Blessed Virgin on the festival of Ste. Anne, July 26, 1701.

The locality was the high bluff on the northwestern littoral of the strait, through which flowed the crystal waters of the great lakes above on their way to Lake Erie, twenty miles below.

The ceremonies of dedication were performed by two venerable priests, Father Constantin D'Lhalle, Recollet, from the monastery of this order at Quebec, and Father Francis Vaillant de Gueslis, S. J., *ci devant* Iroquoian missionary, from the Jesuit College of Quebec.

The attendants at this ceremony comprised fifty officers and soldiers of the army of France and the same number of artisans and agriculturists selected for colonists from the sparse settlements of Canada, comprising the initial expedition of the Chevalier La Mothe Cadillac, who had been commissioned by Louis XIV. to establish a colony and fort *sur le d'etroit du Lac Erie, en lieu avantageux.*

The surroundings of this religious ceremony may be accurately described. The commandant, the Chevalier Cadillac, was an adept in North American frontier experience; he was also a fairly qualified engineer. As a site for the nucleus of the intended colony he had outlined a square of four acres on a plain of the high bluff overlook-

[13] Rev. John T. Murphy, C. Sp. S., in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 22, 461.

ing the strait where the stream was narrowest. On the water front he had enclosed with palisades 200 square feet, on which was erected a bastioned fort, on the right and left of which had been mounted the two small cannon which had been brought from Quebec, so as to command the approach by water from up or down stream. From a high mast planted on the esplanade of this little fort floated the lilied flag of far distant France.

The four acres had been enclosed with high palisades with pointed tops, while the land front of the square as well as its sides were protected with loopholed watch towers. A strong double gate on the land side permitted entrance or exit from or to the forest bordered plain beyond. Inside the enclosure a circular road had been outlined, called in military parlance *le chemin de ronde;* this was patroled by sentinels day and night.

The defensive works had been named Fort de Pontchartrain, in honor of Count Jerome of that name, Minister of Marine and Colonies in the Cabinet of Louis XIV. The enclosure within the *chemin de ronde* had been laid out in narrow streets, on which had been built the dwellings of the commandant and his officers, the chapel of Ste. Anne, the priest's house and the storehouse.

A row of lesser dwellings provided shelter for the artisans and farmers, while the soldiers were lodged inside the fort. The construction of these buildings was necessarily simple and more or less uniform. They were built, says Rameau, "of square hewed timber fresh from the forest, the pieces of equal length were laid one over the other, like in mason work," perforated for doors and windows and provided with good sized hearths and chimneys. They were roofed with bark and made habitable and comfortable by the methods usual in frontier settlements. The male sex alone comprised human life, while not a domestic animal could be found in the little colony, neither horses, cattle, swine or sheep!

With the exception of Captain de Tonty, second in command, who was an Italian, the community was solidly French. The intended colonists were mostly from Normandy, while the commandant was a typical Gascon.

It is to the honor, while it is due the memory of Louis XIV., as well as of his predecessors and particularly of their respective Cabinet Ministers, to testify from authentic records, as also from the royal edicts issued from time to time, to their solicitude for the spiritual welfare of those of their subjects who left their homes in France and crossed the ocean to become colonists in the founding of the new empire on North American soil. But their Christian charity is still more in evidence by the substantial arrangements made for the conversion to Christianity of the aboriginal occupants and rulers of

the country over which France had assumed political control by right of conquest.

The Jesuits and Recollets entered the missionary field in North America early in the seventeenth century and made progress; but their small bands were forced to return to France by anti-Catholic hostility. Cardinal Richelieu determined to extend missionary work in North America with headquarters at Quebec. He invited the Capuchins to undertake the work. The superior of this branch of the Franciscan Order in Paris at the time, judging from the experience of the Recollets, deemed the service too hazardous and declined to peril the lives of his brethren; but he advised the selection of the Jesuits for such heroic work. Under such auspices the latter order entered the missionary field and were joined later on by the Recollets.

Dr. John Gilmary Shea, who recites these facts, states that he saw and read in the archives of the *Bureau des Terres* at Quebec the passport signed by Cardinal Richelieu of the first band of Jesuit missionaries who came from France to Quebec.

The policy of the rulers of France during all their subsequent political history in their new empire in North America was charitably appreciated and substantially supplemented by wealthy Catholics, who contributed liberally and who not only established foundations for permanent annual incomes in support of missionary and educational work, but who likewise continued to devote each year certain portions of their wealth for such work as long as France controlled affairs in her American colony.

Under such favorable auspices was the Catholic religion founded in Detroit two hundred years ago! How different from the subsequent parochial beginnings in other American communities, where the Catholic faith was proscribed by English colonial laws and where its faithful adherents were compelled, surreptitiously, at infrequent occasions, when a priest was available, to assist at the Holy Sacrifice and enjoy the sacraments in private houses and out-of-the-way localities!

The venerable and subsequent martyr Recollet, Father D'Lhalle, had been appointed *aumonier* of the expedition of La Mothe Cadillac by Governor General de Calières; he in fact was the founder of the Catholic religion in Detroit.

The presence of the Jesuit Iroquoian missionary, Father Vaillant de Gueslis, as stated, as participant in the ceremonies of the dedication of the first chapel of Ste. Anne was by the direction of the father superior of his order at Quebec, who had been asked by the Governor General to send a Jesuit missionary conversant with Indian dialects with the expedition of the Chevalier Cadillac.

When, however, the venerable father superior learned from authentic sources that the intention of the Chevalier Cadillac was to bring the Lake tribes, most of whose members had been evangelized by the Jesuit missionaries, whose centre of operations had for many years been at Michilimacinac, to new homes in the vicinity of Fort de Pontchartrain, it became evident that the system of the Lake missions perfected by the zeal as well as by the martyrdom of some of the most eminent of the fathers of the Society of Jesus in North America was menaced with disruption by depopulation, while in their new homes in the vicinity of a colony of whites their spiritual control would be wrested from the missionaries, who would become subordinate to the commandant of the colony, the father superior did not hesitate to send by trusty messengers instructions to Father Vaillant for his immediate return to Quebec, which he accomplished before the end of the year, much to the annoyance of the Chevalier Cadillac.

Some years previous to the events related the Chevalier Cadillac had been appointed by Governor General Frontenac military commandant at Michilimacinac, which at that period in the history of New France was a post of political as well as of strategic importance in relation to the nations of her Algonquian allies. It was situated on the main land at the conjunction of the straits of the waters of Lakes Huron and Michigan and opposite what is now known as the Island of Mackinac.

This locality had long been the centre of the missionary operations of the Jesuit Fathers, who had evangelized the Indian nations on the littorals of the Lakes Huron, Michigan and Superior, whose tribes had made it their rendezvous while making their canoe voyages to or from Quebec. It was also the depot of the Western fur trade, where cargoes for this traffic were received from Quebec by way of the Ottawa river and Georgian Bay route and distributed, and where the furs received in return were assorted and prepared for shipment by way of the same route to Quebec and thence to France.[1]

The capital invested in this hazardous commerce, which at the time extended to Hudson's Bay, was large; but the profit realized was great. The local traffic was quite remunerative, so much so that the military commandant, the Chevalier Cadillac, was tempted surreptitiously to engage therein. His heroic wife at Quebec obtained by loan partly a sum of 5,000 livres, which she invested in *eau de vie* and goods for the Indian trade, which she had freighted on large trading canoes and shipped to her husband at Michilimacinac. It is very doubtful if the Governor General had knowledge of this illicit operation. With this stock, with his prestige as commandant

[1] This traffic was exploited by the monopoly of the "Canada Company."

of the military post, the Chevalier became largely interested in its local traffic.

The most profitable article sold by the French fur trader to the Indians at the time was *eau de vie.* The unlimited traffic in this *fire water,* as it was called, resulted disastrously to the Indian and to his family. The first to realize its ruinous effects to the bodies and souls of their neophytes were the Jesuit missionaries. They protested to the commandant first, but without result; and in turn to the colonial authorities at Quebec, from whom they received no redress. They then appealed to Louis XIV., and with such success that the traffic in *fire water* at Michilimacinac was to a great extent suppressed. The epistolary controversy growing out of this result is known in French colonial history as the "Brandy War." Prominent in the correspondence relating thereto was the Chevalier Cadillac, surreptitiously interested as he was, and he does not figure to advantage; but the success of the Jesuit Fathers in their humane crusade made themselves and the members of their order the mortal enemies of the Chevalier Cadillac. He was subsequently relieved of his command at Michilimacinac and returned to Quebec.

Such had been the antecedents of the founder of the colony of Detroit. His ability as well as his courage cannot be questioned.

But the success of his plans for the formation of his colony would run counter to the interests of the great monopoly of the Canada Company, which by royal charter had the exclusive control of the trade of New France on land and at sea. It would interfere with their control of the fur trade in the West and Northwest. Their wealthy directors in Paris had powerful influence at court; the result of their intrigues was that the civil and commercial control of the young colony was taken from the Chevalier and given to the representatives of the company.[2] The equally potent directors at Quebec were instructed to carry into effect this arrangement and to install their factors at Detroit. Besides this combination there was a religious opposition, which was less demonstrative, but still formidable. The father superior of the Jesuits could not favor a colony whose success during the second year of its existence resulted in the depopulation of their missionary fields centering at Michilimacinac. During six years the functions of the Chevalier at Detroit were minimized to that of commandant of the troops; he had succeeded in inducing the Lake tribes to leave their homes and settle in the vicinity of the post, but since the eclipse of his power his influence over these tribes had waned.

He had been cited to appear before the Chancery Court at Quebec, where for several years he was annoyed with litigous persecution

[2] The commandant was inhibited from sharing in the trade of the colony.

until he finally succeeded in bringing the situation of affairs to the knowledge of Count de Pontchartrain, with the result that the privileges of the Canada Company were withdrawn, their agents removed from Detroit and the Chevalier restored to the full control of the colony, with a liberal grant of money for its development. He then actively recruited the colony by inducing emigration from Canada and by liberal grants from the royal bounty to settlers for agricultural needs.

In a few years the colony was in a flourishing condition, but in 1710 the Chevalier Cadillac was promoted to the Governorship of Louisiana, and he departed forever from the scene of his greatest success. It was no friendly interest that brought about this result. In the meantime the first chapel of Ste. Anne, with other buildings, had been destroyed by fire in 1703. It was rebuilt on a larger scale, but a few years later, while the post was in danger of attack, the second chapel had to be destroyed for strategic reasons; a third and larger chapel was built by the Chevalier Cadillac. During the enforced absence of the latter at Quebec the first pastor of the colony, the saintly Father D'Lhalle, was treacherously murdered by a hostile Indian; his martyr blood consecrated the soil on which the Catholic faith had been first established in Detroit. The same year the Recollet, Father de La Marche, arrived and succeeded to the pastorate of Ste. Anne; he retired in 1709 and was succeeded by the Recollet Father Deniau.[3] Thus religious service, with but slight interruption, had been continuous.

The line of Recollet pastors continued unbroken until the closing decades of the eighteenth century.[4] The colony of Detroit had continued to increase during French colonial rule and had developed on both littorals of the strait. In 1728 the Jesuit Fathers had reappeared; Father Armand de La Richardie, S. J., established the *Mission des Hurons du Detroit* on the south littoral, which was continued until the last of the Huron missionaries, Father Pierre Potier, S. J., was accidentally killed in 1781. With Recollets on one side of the strait and the Jesuits on the other during nearly a century three generations of Catholics had lived in the faith. In the meantime important political changes had occurred.

The fine Empire of New France had been lost to the mother

[3] We are indebted to the Abbe Gosselin, of Quebec, for a copy of his discourse before the Royal Society of Canada, the subject of which was: "Un Soldat de Frontenac Devenu Recollet," in which the romantic history of Father Deniau is outlined. While pursuing his theological studies at the seminary at Angers an unfortunate accident occurred which rendered flight necessary, and he took refuge in Paris, where he enlisted as a soldier, and was subsequently sent with a detachment of troops to the army of Frontenac at Quebec. The Governor, learning of his history, secured his appointment as professor in the Seminary of Quebec, from which institution he was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Laval, December 3, 1700. [4] See "The Recollets at Detroit During Nearly All the Eighteenth Century," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Vol. xxiii., No. 92, October, 1898, p. 759.

country on the Plains of Abraham; subsequently the lilied standard of France had been lowered on this frontier to the British conquerors, while the Northwest became an adjunct of the English colonies.

The conspiracy of Pontiac ensued and in time the American Revolution; the strait now known as the Detroit river became the national boundary line; the north shore was American and the south British.

In 1796 the British forces evacuated Detroit, and the Bishop of Quebec[5] ceded his spiritual sway to the future Metropolitan of the United States, Right Rev. John Carroll, of Baltimore, over Detroit "and its dependencies."

From this event dates the progress of the Catholic religion in Detroit, as well as the foundation of spiritual and educational progress among the people of its dependencies from the head of Lake Erie as far west and northwest as Lake Superior.

The disciples of St. Francis had prepared the soil and the disciples of St. Sulpice reaped the first harvest under American episcopal jurisdiction.

The Sulpitian, Very Rev. Michael Levadoux, was the first incumbent of Ste. Anne's under Bishop Carroll; he was recalled to France two years later and succeeded by Very Rev. Gabriel Richard, who had for his assistant his brother Sulpitian, the accomplished and subsequent historian, Rev. John Dilhet.

With two such holy priests and accomplished men religion and education were developed in Detroit and the widely extended field of its parochial dependencies. Father Richard found the fourth church of Ste. Anne too small to accommodate the local parishioners; so also were the school buildings. He enlarged all three and built academies for young men and women, while he and Father Dilhet instructed teachers of both sexes for the education of young men and women in the primary and higher branches. He then made pastoral visits to missionary stations on the American littorals from the head waters of Lake Erie to the Sault de Ste. Marie, remaining several weeks at the Island of Mackinac, whose population of whites, half-breeds and Indians he found in a demoralized condition. This tour occupied six months and enabled him to report to Bishop Carroll the population as well as the spiritual status of all under the jurisdiction of Ste. Anne's of Detroit.

He then, with his assistant, began the instruction of his local parishioners for the reception of the Sacrament of Confirmation, which, during the months of July and August, 1801, was, by invitation of Bishop Carroll, administered to 521 persons, whose ages ranged

[5] Right Rev. Jean Francois Hubert, D. D., who was *ci devant* pastor of Ste. Anne's, Detroit.

from thirteen to eighty years, in the Church of Ste. Anne by Right Rev. Pierre Denaut, D. D., twelfth Bishop of Quebec. In June, 1805, the church, academies, presbytery and schools were destroyed by the fire which in a few hours wiped out of existence the old colonial town of Detroit.

Many priests would have been utterly discouraged by such a calamity, which was disastrous alike to pastor and immediate parishioners, but Father Richard, although saddened at the material loss to religion and to his people, made great efforts to assist the latter and provide food and temporary shelter. He soon obtained possession of a large building a mile below the former city, which he arranged for religious services and for his presbytery. His academies and primary schools were reopened and better arranged. The former were supplied with first-class chemical apparatus. In a school especially designed for the education of Indian girls these were instructed in the minor rudiments, while a dozen spinning wheels and other technical appliances were provided for their use, which were designed to prepare these girls with a practical knowledge useful in their future life. In 1809 Father Richard set up the first printing press in the West, and by the aid of Mr. Coxeshawe, a practical printer whom he had brought from the East, he published a series of religious and educational books in French and in English and French, which were sold at a moderate price and which replaced the books which had been destroyed by the fire of 1805. The War of 1812 ensued. Father Richard, who was American in all essentials save his nativity, was, contrary to the usages of war, arrested by order of General Brock, British commander, and taken in irons to the prison at Sandwich, on the opposite side of the strait, when Detroit was surrendered. The farmhouses and dwellings of the well-to-do parishioners of Ste. Anne up and down the American shore were plundered and their floors and fences used for the camp fires of the Shawnee Indian allies of his Britannic Majesty.

The battle of the Thames ended this last episode of British rule on American soil. When Father Richard was liberated and returned to Detroit he found his parishioners on the verge of starvation. They had been robbed of their stores of food and of grain; they had neither seed-grain nor vegetables to plant in their fields.

The credit of this venerable apostle was such that he was enabled to purchase the requisite supply of food and grain, which he distributed; the danger of famine was averted by his prompt and active assistance and his spiritual children were soon restored to their former comfortable status.

The spiritual control of Detroit and its dependencies had in the meantime been vested in the See of Bardstown, Ky.

Father Richard, like other saintly prelates and priests in Eastern cities, experienced annoyance from scandals caused by rebellious trustees. But these afflictions did not occur in the parochial corporation of Ste. Anne's Church, Detroit.

In 1808 Paul Malcher, a wealthy bachelor, donated a farm one-quarter mile in width and three miles in length, extending from the bank of the river to the forest, for religious and educational purposes, situated at the *Cote du Nord Est*, two miles above Ste. Anne's. The deed was made to a syndicate of his neighbors, who, like himself, were good Catholics. In 1809 a church and school were built on the river front and a parish was organized, taking the name of the *Cote du Nord*, with the parties named in the deed as *marguilliers* or trustees. This little church was of great convenience to Catholics living in its vicinity, some of whom lived four or five miles from the Church of Ste. Anne. It became a succursal of the latter and divine service was held therein on Sundays and festivals by Father Richard or his assistant.

In the new plan of Detroit Ste. Anne's corporation was assigned, in exchange for its former holding, a square now in the centre of the present city as a more extensive site for church and cemetery, which was acceptable to the pastor, to the *marguilliers* and to the parishioners generally and formally accepted; the front of the old site, including the ancient cemetery, being included within the lines of the present Jefferson avenue, was ceded to the city, while the rear portion, fronting on the southerly line of the present Larned street, was left to Ste Anne and subsequently sold as a nucleus for the fund for building the new church on the new site.

It was stipulated by the corporation of Ste. Anne that the remains of the dead in the ancient cemetery would be removed to the new cemetery. These transactions were bitterly opposed by a faction of the *marguilliers* of the *Cote du Nord* parish, which developed into open schism. The great majority of the people of the little parish were faithful to their revered pastor, but they were made to suffer the consequences of the action of their trustees.

The Right Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, D. D., was Bishop of Bardstown at this period. A deputation went to Bardstown and both sides were heard. Bishop Flaget sustained Father Richard, and issued in 1817 a *mandement*,[6] which is a model document of episcopal jurisprudence, addressed to all the faithful at Detroit and vicinity, placing the *Cote du Nord* church and parish under interdict unless certain formalities were complied with.

It was a dread sentence, but the recalcitrant *marguilliers* remained

[6] A copy of this document is on record in the parish register of Ste. Anne, of Detroit.

obdurate. In the following year the heart of the saintly prelate was moved with compassion for the destitute condition of so many faithful Catholics. He made the journey from Bardstown to Detroit[7] and soon had the satisfaction of reconciling the rebellious ones with their venerable pastor. The *mandement* of the Bishop was accepted by the *marguilliers;* a grand procession, headed by the regimental band, was formed, which conducted the Bishop from Ste Anne's through the city, the cannon of the fort firing a salute as it passed to the *Cote du Nord.* An affecting reconciliation took place between the schismatics and their venerable pastor, Father Richard; addresses were delivered in English and French and the interdict was formally removed by Bishop Flaget and a handsome amount subscribed for the fifth Church of Ste. Anne, the corner-stone of which was laid by the Bishop June 11, 1818.[8]

In 1822 the saintly Dominican, Father Edward Fenwick, was elevated to the newly-erected See of Cincinnati, under whose spiritual jurisdiction was placed Detroit "and its dependencies." The building of the new Church of Ste. Anne imposed a heavy burden upon its pastor; its basement was first dedicated in 1820 for divine service, and the upper portion so far completed that it was dedicated on Christmas, 1828. It was a large and imposing structure at that time; having two towers in front and rear and a large dome in the centre, it dominated all other buildings and was a conspicuous landmark to the traveler in his approach to the city by land or water.

In 1823 Father Richard was elected by a decisive majority as the third territorial representative of Michigan to Congress. He accepted the office with a view to utilize its salary in completing Ste. Anne's. His appearance in the House of Representatives created a sensation; his demeanor commanded great respect. "He spoke but little, and that wisely, and did much for his constituents and the Union."[9] Through his efforts the military roads from Detroit leading to Chicago, the Grand River Valley, Lakes Michigan and Huron were built by the Federal Government, over the lines of which have since been constructed the iron roadways which connect the East with the West and open Michigan to the commerce of the world. While in Washington he solicited and obtained government aid for the maintenance of schools among the Indian tribes under his jurisdiction.

In July, 1824, Father Richard made a tour of the lake missions. While at Mackinac he visited the site of the Jesuit missionary station at Michilimacinac of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He located and marked the grave of Father Marquette, he visited

[7] This tiresome journey was made in the saddle. [8] Spalding's "Life of Bishop Flaget," pp. 182-187. [9] See the *Congressional Globe* of 1823-24.

all the island missionary stations and the Sault de Ste. Marie. Returning by way of Saint Louis, he went to Cincinnati, where he assisted at the ordination of Rev. Francis Vincent Badin, with whom he returned to Detroit. This young priest, learned, accomplished and pious, subsequently became the assistant and solace of the venerable Father Richard.[10]

With the coöperation of Bishop Fenwick the missionary work among the Indian tribes of the Lake regions was developed. Father Francis Vincent Badin was sent to the Ottawas and Pottawatomies; the circuit of these missions included the littorals of the islands of Lakes Huron and Michigan, of the Georgian Bay and the littoral of Lake Michigan, which included the site of the present city of Chicago.[11]

The same year Fathers De Jean and Bellamy arrived from France, volunteers for the Indian missions of the Lakes. After a course of linguistic instruction at the presbytery of Ste. Anne these young priests were assigned to the missions on the Lakes, relieving Father Badin, who returned to Detroit. Father de Jean subsequently evangelized the Ottawa tribes and restored them to Christian life."[12]

One of the most zealous priests sent from Cincinnati by Bishop Fenwick to Father Richard for missionary work in the lake regions was the Rev. Frederick Résé, who, as a preliminary for this work, underwent a course of study of the Indian dialects at the presbytery of Ste. Anne. He was an apt scholar in Indian linguistics.[13] The same year, 1826, Father Badin was sent to Wisconsin to revive religion in the former missionary fields of this region. He extended his visits as far North as Prairie du Chien, where he restored the former missionary establishments, comprising a population of about 600 souls.

This was the hardest work the city bred priest of Orleans had experienced in America, but he accomplished much. After his return to Detroit he resumed parochial work in the parish of Ste. Anne and in the succursal parish of the *Cote du Nord*, thereby relieving Father Richard of much routine work.

In the meantime the missionary field had been extended from the islands and littoral of the Georgian Bay up the River St. Mary to the

[10] He was a younger brother of Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States. The brothers were natives of Orleans, France. [11] Ann. Prop. 11, p. 247. [12] Ibid., p. 344. [13] Dr. Frederick Résé was born in Hildesheim, in the Kingdom of Hanover, Germany, in 1797. In his youth he was a soldier and served as a minor cavalry officer in the corps of Marshal Blucher at the battle of Waterloo. After the eclipse of Napoleon he resigned the sword to take up the cross. He entered the College of the Propaganda at Rome and studied for the priesthood; he earned the title of D. D. and was ordained. He was then sent to Africa on missionary service, and on his return to Rome he offered himself to Bishop Fenwick, first Bishop of Cincinnati, as a volunteer for missionary work among the Indians of Michigan. He arrived at Cincinnati in 1825 and became secretary to the Bishop.

Sault and across Lake Superior to its head waters at Fond du Lac, including the littorals of the islands and main land of what now constitutes the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, parts of Minnesota and of Wisconsin. This extensive region was almost exclusively inhabited by the tribes of the once great nation of the Chippewas, whose people, alternately freezing and starving, were probably among the most miserable of the human race.[14] The indefatigable Father Résé was recalled to Cincinnati and was promoted by Bishop Fenwick to the office of vicar general of the diocese. He had become thoroughly posted with the missionary work directed from Detroit by Father Richard and the pecuniary requirements necessary for its vigorous prosecution which were not available at the time. He was authorized by Bishop Fenwick to go to Europe in 1828 and solicit pecuniary assistance for religious work generally, but especially for Indian missionary service among the tribes of the Lake regions, for which he was to solicit volunteers. He went directly to Vienna, where he had influential friends.

Among others he interested the Archduchess Leopoldine of Austria, who exercised considerable influence at the Imperial Court and among the wealthy nobility of the empire. Under the patronage of this Imperial Princess the Leopoldine Society was founded and capitalized liberally for the promotion of the missionary work of the Diocese of Cincinnati operated from Detroit.

Financial assistance from other wealthy Catholics was also received for the same objects. Being thus assured of pecuniary aid from the annual allocations of the Leopoldine Society, and reinforced as stated, he sought and obtained volunteers for the sacerdotal part of the missionary system, with whom he returned to his diocese. The square which had been assigned the corporation of Ste. Anne by the judicial and civil authorities of the city and territory was extensive. On the south it fronted on Larned street, while it was bounded on the north by Michigan Grand avenue, since renamed Cadillac Square; on the east by Randolph street, and the west by Bates street.

On the southeast corner of Larned and Bates, 100 feet north of the former street, had been built and completed the spacious church known as the Fifth Ste. Anne, which, as stated, had been dedicated on Christmas, 1828. On the east, on the Randolph street front, about 100 feet north of Larned street, had been built and completed the presbytery of Ste. Anne; on the northeast corner, the Academy of Ste. Anne, for the education in the higher branches of young men, while across Larned, on the corner of Randolph, was the young

[14] See "The Chippewas of Lake Superior," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Vol. xxi., No. 82, April, 1896, p. 354.

ladies' academy. On the east side of Randolph were free primary schools for boys and girls.[15] The presbytery was a three-story frame building about 70 feet square. A hall 10 feet wide extended through the centre of the first and second stories, on each side of which were good sized rooms. The third story contained three bed rooms and a large room in which was the historic press of Father Richard, the depository of his published books and of his precious manuscripts.

A broad path extended from the rear of the presbytery to the basement entrance of the church. The Larned street front and the Bates street front to the rear of the church was enclosed by an open fence. From the south of the presbytery a path led to the Larned street side, by which the young ladies of the academy and their teachers had access to the church. On the north a similar path led to the entrance of the Academy of Ste. Anne. The south front of the square was reserved for garden and orchard, while north of the path to the entrance of the church referred to was the second cemetery of Ste. Anne, covered with tombstones and containing the bones and ashes of the Catholic dead of 125 years. The remainder of the square was enclosed with a high board fence.

In the Catholic annals of the Northwest the presbytery of Ste. Anne was historic. It was the home of the Venerable Father Richard and of his distinguished confrère and immediate successor, Father Badin. It was the abiding place of the saintly Bishop Fenwick when this prelate made his apostolic periodical visitations. It was the preparatory school, the alma mater, of the zealous young priests who came from Europe to serve as missionaries among the Indian tribes of the Upper Lake regions, where they were instructed in the Chippewa, the Ottawa and the Pottawatomie dialects, a far more difficult study than that of the classics during their collegiate experience.

The greatest missionary work accomplished under the direction of any one Bishop or priest in North America during the first three decades of the nineteenth century may be claimed for Father Richard. In fact, in no part of the United States was there a field so extensive or so difficult of access as that confided to his care under the metropolitan administrations of Archbishops Carroll, Neale, Marechal and Whitfield and under Bishops Flaget and Fenwick.

The dependencies of the parish of Ste. Anne of Detroit extended from the River Raisin, at the head waters of Lake Erie, along the littoral of the straits of Detroit, Lake St. Clair and tributary streams; Lakes Huron and Michigan, as far as the River St. Joseph, and on

15 These institutions evidence the continuous educational policy of Father Richard.

the Illinois border where Chicago has since been built. In Wisconsin as far north as Prairie du Chien and the country tributary to Green Bay it included the islands of Lakes Michigan, Huron and the Georgian Bay, and up the River St. Mary to the Sault, and around the head waters of Lake Superior to Fond du Lac. With the passing of the century, during the early part of which Father Richard directed the planting of the faith in the extensive territory we have generally outlined, there now exists, in Michigan, the Dioceses of Detroit, Grand Rapids and Marquette; in the other States, three archiepiscopal provinces, seven dioceses, with a total Catholic population of over two million souls.

In the summer of 1832 the Asiatic cholera afflicted Detroit, then badly prepared to resist an epidemic. The Catholic population felt its ravages most severely, for many among them were strangers and poor people. Fathers Richard and Badin devoted themselves to the sick and dying day and night, administering the Holy Sacraments and burying the dead.

During the two months in which the pestilence raged the venerable pastor allowed himself but little rest. When first attacked by the dread disease he was saved for the time, but he never fully recovered, and died without pain September 13, 1832. There were present during his last hours Bishop Fenwick, Fathers Badin, Baraga and Hotsher, the pioneer Redemptorist of the West. His remains were deposited in the crypt beneath Ste. Anne's, which he had labored so long and so hard to build and which he loved so well.

Father Badin succeeded to the pastorate. Father Richard was tall and spare; his face seemed like parchment, so little flesh was there on his high cheek bones, his forehead prominent, his bearing dignified and graceful. His confrère, Father Francis Vincent Badin, was similar in appearance and as gentle mannered. Both were perfect types of the ascetic priests who brought to our shores more than a century ago the fervent faith and charming manners of the *ancien régime* of Catholic France. Fifty years succeeding his death the local historian, Bela Hubbard, placed upon the massive façade of the City Hall of Detroit four statues designed to commemorate the men most identified with the exploration and the civilization of the West in their respective epochs. These were the soldiers of the cross, eminent members of two great religious orders, James Marquette and Gabriel Richard, and of the chivalry of old France, Robert de La Salle and Antoine de La Mothe Cadillac.

Preceding the demise of Father Richard it had been decided by the American hierarchy to erect the Diocese of Detroit, the mitre being intended for Father Richard; but Divine Providence decreed otherwise. The venerable appointee for the episcopate of Detroit

was spared the burden of such well deserved honor and called to a never ending celestial reward.

March 8, 1833, the Diocese of Detroit was established. The Very Rev. Frederick Résé, D. D., vicar general of Cincinnati, was appointed to the see; but it was not until October 6 of the same year that he was consecrated by Bishop Rosati, in the Cathedral of Cincinnati.

In the meantime the first Bishop of Cincinnati, the saintly Fenwick, had died September 26, 1832, while his successor, Right Rev. John B. Purcell, was consecrated October 13, 1833.

At the time of his consecration Bishop Résé was in his 36th year. His personal appearance was not ascetic. He was of medium height, while his military career had left him square built and erect. His countenance was pleasing, with bright black eyes and closely curled crow-black hair. He was a fair type of manly beauty, while his manner was agreeable.

From the time of his nomination to the newly created see the Archduchess Leopoldine of Austria became his patroness and the benefactress of the Diocese of Detroit in all that related to the personal and religious appointments of the young Bishop. It may be claimed that no Bishop in the hierarchical history of the Church in the United States assumed control of his diocese under more favorable auspices than did the first Bishop of Detroit. His episcopal wardrobe was of the finest; his respective suits of vestments were of the richest procurable in Europe, while the linen and lace appurtenances thereto were in keeping. The chalices and patins for his personal use were of solid gold; his crozier, mitres, cross and ring were resplendent with costly jewels; the ciboriums, monstrance and chalices for sanctuary use were of massive silver fire-gilt, as were also the censers, cups and cruets. The altar was appointed with solid silver fire-gilt candlesticks and candelabrums; the sanctuary was richly carpeted, while its walls were hung with pure silk brocatelle arras, every square yard of which must have cost fifty Austrian florins.

When Bishop Résé came to Detroit to assume possession of his see he brought with him two Oratorian Fathers from their house in Belgium, destined to establish a college for the education of ecclesiastical students and young men. These were John de Bruyn and Louis F. Van den Poel, both in the prime of life. With the Oratorians, as members of the faculty of the intended college and as theological students, were Francis Boens, Thomas Cullen, Lawrence Kilroy and William Olwell. In addition to this religious ensemble was John Pontius, intended as sacristan and master of ceremonies, familiarly known as "Brother John," who was a fine basso

and a great wit, and to complete it were Revs. Bernard O'Cavanagh, intended for pastor of the English speaking Catholics, and Martin Kundig, of Swiss nationality, but a fluent and accomplished preacher in the English, German and French languages, intended for pastor of the Catholics of German nationality. Added to this clerical company were John B. Schick, a young Polish exile, professor of music, who was to be organist; a brother professor from New York, who had a fine tenor voice; Miss Martha Levi, a recent convert from Judaism and a fine alto singer, and Miss Julia O'Cavanagh, sister of the priest above mentioned, who was a fine contralto singer.[16]

It might be claimed that the episcopal as well as the religious establishment of Bishop Résé was complete for the purpose intended. It was not only so, but at the same time it was cosmopolitan and of the highest attainable standard of excellence. But this was not all. Captain Alpheus White, an established architect of Cincinnati, had with his family accompanied the Bishop.

This gentleman of the Irish family of this name prominent in the American history of New Orleans had once been a privateer captain, sailing in the Gulf of Mexico, who after the War of 1812 had removed to Cincinnati, in which city he had acquired a fortune in his adopted profession.

The experience of the Bishop during his military career had probably been such as to convince him that the commissary department of any expedition was a feature which required attention. He had accordingly brought with him a chef whose familiar household name was "Charlie," but whose family name we never knew. We have mentioned that a large section of the Larned street front of the domain of Ste. Anne had been reserved for a garden and orchard. To develop this appendage the Bishop had brought from Cincinnati a professional gardener named Ferdinand Erb. We remember him well. He was a tall, good natured German and not too stingy with his ripening fruit.

The young ladies of the episcopal colony were cared for in the academy for their sex, on the southwest corner of Randolph and Larned streets. Professor Schick and his confrere were lodged with a Catholic family in the vicinity. Captain White built a residence on the east side of Randolph street, while the Bishop and his *entourage* occupied the *ci devant* presbytery of Ste. Anne, which had become the episcopal residence of Detroit. Captain White remodeled Ste. Anne's and built the College of St. Philip Neri, on the river front of the *Cote du Nord* church farm, to which the Oratorian

[16] These accomplished and beautiful ladies subsequently married the brothers James and John Watson, who were among the leading Catholic merchants of the city.

Fathers with their faculty removed and opened the collegiate work which attracted a number of students.

The Bishop also brought with him Mr. Charles Schwab, a competent organ builder of Cincinnati, who erected his little factory on the eastern line of Ste. Anne's domain, and with his skilled workmen built the largest organ for the Cathedral at that time in use in the United States. All these details are authentic. They are not given upon traditional authority, nor have we any knowledge of any printed account of them.

We write them *de science certaine.* It may be asked where the money came from? It was supplied most liberally from Vienna. And from this city the United States Consul General Schwartz[17] sent a fine processional fire-gilt cross to the first Bishop of Detroit, which is still in use.

In the spring of 1834 Captain White was authorized to purchase a site for a church for the Irish and English speaking Catholics. This he did on the northwest corner of Bates street and Michigan Grand avenue. About the same time he purchased from the First Protestant Society of Detroit their large frame church on the northeast corner of Woodward avenue and Larned street, which he had moved to the Bates street corner. But before this building could be remodeled for Catholic worship the Asiatic cholera again appeared and became epidemic in Detroit. In the meantime the population of the city had been considerably increased by newcomers from the Eastern States and from Europe. Large numbers of the latter were Irish Catholics. There was no hospital at the time in Detroit. The unacclimated of the poorer classes fell victims in large numbers. The Bishop directed Captain White to prepare the vacant church for hospital uses, which he did, and Father Martin Kundig was placed in charge and empowered to succor the stricken ones without regard to race or creed. In this noble work Father Kundig was substantially assisted by Charles C. Trowbridge, Mayor of the city, and by the active coöperation of the medical faculty of Detroit.

In the annals of charitable work in Detroit the heroic work of Father Kundig in connection with this temporary Catholic hospital earned for him the title of the Apostle of Charity in Detroit.[18]

In the summer of 1835 the remodeled church was dedicated to the Holy Trinity and Father Bernard O'Cavanagh was installed as pastor. Ste. Anne was the first, Holy Trinity became the second and in time the most populous parish in Detroit. The numerical

[17] The Consul at Vienna was a brother of General John E. Schwartz, of Detroit.
[18] Father Kundig procured an ambulance and visited the parts of the city most infected daily. He removed the stricken ones to his ambulance, drove to the church hospital and carried the patients in his arms to the ward assigned them.

preponderance of the Franco-American Catholic population of Detroit proper from this period was ended.

The Oratorian college of St. Philip Neri became a prominent feature of the religious life of Detroit. At this time there were but fourteen priests in the entire diocesan territory committed to the young Bishop's care and not more than twelve churches. Bishop Résé established two convents of the Poor Clares, one at Detroit and the other at Green Bay, Wisconsin. He also established schools for the Indians and made great efforts in behalf of their spiritual, their social and their temporal welfare.

This was the golden period in the early history of the Catholic religion in the city of Detroit during the nineteenth century. The pontifical service in the Cathedral of Ste. Anne under the management of "Brother John" during the term of Bishop Résé surpassed in its splendor that of any church in the United States, Baltimore not excepted. It was only during the past three decades that its religious pomp and grandeur has been excelled.

The relations of the Bishop with the indigenous Franco-Catholics was of the most cordial nature. In all the improvements which had been effected they had not been called upon to contribute a dollar. In 1836 he obtained from the *marguilliers* a lease for himself and his successors in the episcopate, under certain conditions, for 999 years of all the temporalities of the corporation of Ste. Anne.[19]

In the spring of 1837 Archbishop Eccleston convoked the Third Council of Baltimore. At this early period the American hierarchy comprised ten prelates, but when the Council was opened nine only were present. At the first secret session the following letter from the Bishop of Detroit was submitted:

"Most Reverend Fathers in Provincial Synod at Baltimore assembled.

"It is known that I reluctantly accepted the episcopal consecration, and I soon learned by experience that the erection and administration of a new diocese, with its numberless difficulties and cares springing up on every side, were a burden far too great for me to bear, and I have accordingly frequently entertained the intention of resigning my diocese into the hands of His Holiness the Sovereign Pontiff, or at least soliciting a capable coadjutor from the Holy See. This intention I desire to carry out by these presents, and for this purpose I have empowered my two actual vicars general, Messrs. Badin and De Bruyn, to exercise joint jurisdiction in my absence until other arrangements are made.

"Such is the matter which I deem proper to lay before you, Most Reverend Fathers, and I beg you to excuse me if I cannot take part in this Council, and also to aid me to obtain the successful realization of my desires, if it shall seem good in our Lord.

"FREDERIC RÉSÉ, Bishop of Detroit.

"St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, April 15, 1837."

The deliberations of the fathers upon this letter ended in a resolve to ask the Holy See's acceptance of Bishop Résé's resignation and the appointment of a new Bishop as successor to his see in Detroit.

[19] We saw this lease finely written on parchment two feet square and framed in glass during the "forties" in the office of James A. Vandyke, counsel of the Bishop.

This was refused at Rome, the Holy Father deferring a decision as to the acceptance of the resignation or appointment of a successor until Bishop Résé had been heard in person. These events were unknown to the Catholic community of Detroit. The causes impelling the Bishop to resign the mitre of Detroit must have been serious. They were not warranted by diocesan affairs in Detroit, for all was tranquil, properous, while the Bishop was idolized. In the Third Council there were nine prelates, eleven distinguished theologians, most of whom subsequently attained high rank in the hierarchy; the heads of the Jesuits of Maryland and the Missouri provinces and five minor officials. It is a remarkable fact that all have passed to eternity without disclosing the secret of the Council in regard to Bishop Résé, while no Catholic historian has been warranted in assigning a reason for this serious event.

The Bishop returned to Detroit, and two years later, in 1839, he embarked at New York on a Havre packet ship on his way to Rome. He had as *compagnon de voyage* as far as Paris Pierre J. Desnoyers, a wealthy French Catholic merchant of Detroit.

The influence of the friends of Bishop Résé at Rome appears to have been potent, for he retained his title as Bishop of Detroit and enjoyed a revenue from his diocese during his life. He remained in the Eternal City until forced to leave during the Revolution of 1848. He died in Hanover December 19, 1871, in his 75th year; but his mental faculties had been clouded for some time previous to his death.[20]

In the meantime one of the founders of the College of St. Philip Neri, the Oratorian Father Van den Poel, had died January 28, 1837. His obsequies in the Cathedral of Ste. Anne were among the last of the grand ceremonials performed by Bishop Résé. On September 11, 1839, his associate and the president of this college, Father John de Bruyn, also died.[21] This left Father Francis Vincent Badin sole administrator of the Diocese of Detroit.

The grand pontifical ceremonies of the Cathedral of Ste. Anne were ended with the departure of the young and brilliant Bishop Résé. While the indigenous Franco-Catholic community of Detroit increased from natural causes, the cosmopolitan Catholic element was being rapidly multiplied by immigration from the Eastern States and from Europe.

[20] Captain White, in grief at the departure of his friend the Bishop, sold his property and returned to Cincinnati. "Brother John," as well as "Charlie," the chef, also returned to the same city. [21] The remains of both these Oratorian fathers were deposited in the crypt beneath Ste. Anne's. When in 1886, after the sale of the property and the fifth church of this name was demolished, the remains of Father Richard were translated to the vault beneath the new and splendid sixth church of this name. The remains of the two Oratorian fathers were given a final resting place in the square reserved for the burial of priests in Mount Elliott Cemetery, while those of General Antoine Beaubien were removed to the burial place of this family in the same cemetery.

The cares and responsibilities of the saintly administrator developed more and more, while he appealed to Baltimore and Cincinnati for relief. In the meantime the zealous Father Kundig in his charitable zeal for the welfare of the orphan victims of the Asiatic cholera had become involved in hopeless financial embarrassments and had retired to Milwaukee, where he became vicar general. The Revs. Anthony Kopp and Clemence Hammer succeeded to the spiritual direction of the German Catholics. In 1840 Father Badin obtained from Antoine and Monique Beaubien the donation of a half square on the corner of St. Antoine street and Monroe avenue as a site for a German church and presbytery, and early the following year the corner-stone of St. Mary's Church was laid, which was soon after completed. For four years Detroit was without a resident Bishop. The position of coadjutor and administrator had been offered to several prominent ecclesiastics, who had declined, alleging as a reason that they did not care to occupy a see whose titular Bishop was in the prime of life and who might return to assume control. Finally the position was accepted by Rev. Peter Paul Lefevere, at the time a missionary in Missouri and Southern Illinois. He was born in Roulers, Belgium, April 30, 1804. Educated for the priesthood, he came to St. Louis in 1828, where he completed his theological studies and was ordained by Bishop Rosati in 1831. He was consecrated November 21, 1841, at Philadelphia, by Bishop Kenrick as Bishop of Zela, coadjutor Bishop of Detroit and administrator of the diocese. He came immediately to Detroit and assumed control. He was then in his 38th year.

In the following year the saintly Father Badin returned to his native city, Orleans, France, where he died at a mature age. Bishop Lefevere soon after appointed Rev. Peter Kindekens, a young priest from his native province, vicar general of the diocese.

The want of priests was the first great difficulty which confronted the new Bishop. To supply this want he brought a number of ecclesiastical students from Belgium and Holland, who were instructed in theology by the vicar general and in the English language by such American professors as could be obtained.

In 1843 the States of Illinois and Wisconsin were removed from the jurisdiction of the See of Detroit. Of the theological students at the College of St. Philip Neri Messrs. Boens,[22] Cullen and Olwell had been ordained by Bishop Résé. Messrs. Lawrence, Kilroy, Charles Van den Drieschen, who entered the Society of Jesus in Cincinnati, and Francis Halpin were ordained by Bishop Lefevere in 1842. In the spring of this year the college was struck by lightning

[22] This young priest, of an excellent Belgian family, died from malarial fever at the college soon after his ordination.

and entirely destroyed by fire. The faculty and students were cared for at the episcopal residence in Detroit. The church had been saved, but a few years later it was closed and rented for storage purposes.

This was the end of the collegiate institution established by the learned Oratorian Fathers. The site of the college was on the bluff of the shore of the Detroit, a fine location, directly opposite, perhaps a quarter mile distant, from the northerly shore of what is now Belle Isle Park, which at the time was marshy and probably was the cause of so much sickness at the college.

After the departure of Father Badin Vicar General Kindekens became pastor of the Cathedral of Ste. Anne. His pastorate continued for some years, but it was not altogether harmonious. On the festival of SS. Peter and Paul, 1845, the Bishop laid the corner-stone of his new Cathedral on the northeast corner of Jefferson avenue and St. Antoine street. The extensive site had been paid for before the ceremony had been performed. On the same festival, which was that of his patron saints, June 29, 1848, the Cathedral was dedicated by Archbishop Eccleston, of Baltimore, who was assisted by a large concourse of prelates and priests. Its ensemble had been completed and paid for as the work progressed without calling for assistance from the Catholics of the city.[23] It is a spacious edifice, having a frontage of 80 feet on Jefferson avenue and extending on St. Antoine street 180 feet to Larned street.

A year previous Bishop Lefevere's staff had been increased by Rev. St. Michael Edgar Evelyn Shawe, a distinguished priest from the University of Notre Dame, a fine scholar and linguist as well as a most eloquent preacher. It will be remembered that Bishop Résé had served under Blucher as a cavalry officer at the Battle of Waterloo. Father Shawe, who was of noble British descent, had commanded a squadron of British cavalry in the same battle under Wellington, and left grievously wounded on that bloody field. He subsequently studied, was ordained a priest and was one of the volunteers secured in Paris by Bishop Bruté for missionary work in Indiana.

As the Cathedral had no parochial territory proper, the Bishop transferred the congregation and records of Trinity Church to SS. Peter and Paul's, which he made the parish church of all the English speaking Catholics of the city. Trinity Church was closed.[24]

[23] This church had been designed by Very Rev. Father Kindekens. The Bishop did not like its interior arrangements and expended $15,000 in remodeling and improvements. Its tower as originally designed still remains incomplete. The organ, the second largest in the United States at the time, was built by Henry Erben, and cost $6,000. [24] The vacant church was subsequently removed to Sixth and Porter streets, where it was rededicated under the same patronage and soon became the parish church of the Irish Catholic nationality in the western part of the city.

The Cathedral congregation was mostly composed of American born and of Irish-American Catholics as well as those of Irish nativity, the latter preponderating. From its pulpit English sermons only were preached; French in Ste. Anne's and German in St. Mary's.

When every detail connected with the opening of his new Cathedral had been cared for the Bishop resumed his episcopal visitations, which usually required from four to six months. His territorial circuit included the Lower and Upper Peninsulas of Michigan. In the discharge of this duty he traversed the State from the Detroit river to the shores of Lake Michigan in one direction, and from Lake St. Clair to the head waters of Lake Superior. Now in the open boat from Mackinac around the coasts and islands where were still to be found the remnants of the Indian tribes, and further up among the hills of the mining regions of Lake Superior to seek out the scattered Catholics and to see to their spiritual wants; again in the Lower Peninsula in the uncomfortable wagons and coaches, over roads barely passable for man or beast, to serve his flock, baptize the little ones and to bring the sacraments to the isolated Catholics wherever to be found in the growing settlements of the time. In July, 1853, the burden of the episcopal visitations was much lightened by the separation of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan from the Diocese of Detroit; its creation into a Vicariate Apostolic and subsequently into the See of Marquette, with the Apostolic Bishop Baraga in charge. That same year the Catholics of Detroit mourned the untimely death of Father St. Michael Edgar Evelyn Shawe.

In the meantime, by the liberality of Monique and Antoine Beaubien, who donated the ground, St. Mary's Hospital was established. The Poor Clares had left the city and had been replaced in their former convent by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, who organized St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum and conducted a school for girls. The Academy of Ste. Anne had ceased to exist, but the education of youth had been confided to the Christian Brothers, who opened their school in the basement of Ste. Anne's. The Diocese of Detroit had at the time sixty churches, thirty-four priests and a Catholic population of 85,000. In his titular city Bishop Lefevere from time to time, as the city increased in population, had the happiness to dedicate new churches and to witness the growth of the local Catholic population. At his suggestion, with the coöperation of Bishop Spalding, of Louisville, the subsequent Metropolitan of Baltimore, the American College of Louvain, Belgium, was established, whose first rector was Monsignor De Neve, of Detroit. Vicar General Kindekens soon after joined the rector and remained at this college until his premature death.

The episcopate of Bishop Lefevere extended from November,

1841, to March 4, 1869, the date of his death, at St. Mary's Hospital, where in a poorly furnished room, after laying aside his high prerogatives of the episcopate of a great city and diocese, he humbly came to prepare for eternity. His mortal remains have since reposed beneath the main aisle of the Cathedral he had built, which he had loved so much. There were at this epoch in the history of Catholicity in Detroit eight churches and other parishes in formation, St. Mary's Hospital, the Michigan State Retreat, several asylums, convents, academies and schools.

The administration of the diocese devolved upon Vicar General Peter Hennaert,[25] who was relieved upon the advent of Right Rev. Caspar Henry Borgess, consecrated at Cincinnati by Bishop Rosecrans April 24, 1870, Bishop of Calydon and coadjutor administrator of Detroit, with the right of succession, which he succeeded to on the death of Bishop Résé in December, 1871. Bishop Borgess was born in the Grand Duchy of Oldenberg August 1, 1826. At the age of 13 he was brought by his parents to Cincinnati in 1839. In this city he studied for the priesthood and was ordained by Archbishop Purcell December 8, 1848. He was pastor of Holy Cross Church, at Columbus, Ohio, during ten years, when he was recalled to Cincinnati, where he became rector of the Cathedral and chancellor of the archdiocese, which positions he filled until his accession of the See of Detroit. He was pious, zealous and conscientious. He appointed Rev. Henry J. H. Schutjes chancellor of the diocese.[26] This young priest, who was an able financier, had been placed in charge of the fiscal affairs of the diocese by Archbishop Purcell on the death of Bishop Lefevere. Under his management the *chancellerie* of the Diocese of Detroit was first organized and systematized, to the great relief of Bishop Borgess.

"The memorable pastoral letter of the Bishop in 1873 addressed to the priests and people on the subject of parochial schools was at once the declaration of his policy on that subject and, so to speak, the *mot d'ordre* to priests and people. The present advanced condition of Catholic education in the diocese is due to that pastoral and Bishop Borgess' adherence to the policy indicated in it."

May 19, 1882, the Diocese of Grand Rapids was created, separating the western half of Michigan from the territory of the Diocese of Detroit. In this diminished territory there remained 139 priests and 155 churches.

Bishop Borgess reintroduced the Redemptorists to Michigan. His most memorable work was the introduction of the Jesuits in

[25] Father Hennaert was among the theological students from the native province of Bishop Lefevere, by which he was ordained. Obiit., 1880. [26] Father Schutjes was one of the theological students brought from Holland by Bishop Lefevere and ordained at Detroit.

Detroit. He conveyed to this order his Cathedral, his episcopal residence and a valuable property on the northeast corner of Larned and St. Antoine streets, the understanding being that the order would assume the pastoral care of the Cathedral parish and establish a college.

These implied conditions were carried out. The Bishop then purchased a church on Washington avenue, which he had refitted for Catholic worship and which he dedicated to St. Aloysius. He then built a spacious episcopal residence on the opposite side of the avenue. Upon the return to Europe of Father Schutjes the Rev. Camillus P. Maes was appointed chancellor, and so remained until 1885, when he was elevated to the vacant See of Covington, Ky.[27] He was succeeded by Rev. M. P. J. Dempsey. In the meantime Rev. Edward Joos, of Monroe, was made an additional vicar general. Bishop Borgess possessed the love and esteem of the Catholic population of Detroit. This was made evident by his enthusiastic reception on the evening of his return from a visit made to Rome. Every congregation of the city was marshaled to greet his arrival at the central depot. A double line with burning torches was formed on Jefferson avenue as far as SS. Peter and Paul's, through which the carriage of the Bishop and his escort was driven, while a splendid display of fireworks added inspiration to the scene, and the cheers of the immense assemblage manifested the joy of the people as they greeted their Bishop's return. The progress of religion during the episcopate of Bishop Borgess is shown by the following summary: In Detroit there were twenty churches with parochial schools, served by forty priests; the extensive establishment of the Detroit College, conducted by the Jesuit Fathers; the Academy of the Sacred Heart; the academy, convent and asylum of the Felician Sisters; the spacious hospitals and asylums of St. Mary and St. Vincent; several educational establishments of a high order and a Catholic local population of 80,000. In the diocese at large there were 137 priests, 164 churches, fifty-seven parochial schools and a total population aggregating 125,000.

Bishop Borgess resigned April 16, 1887.[28] He died at Borgess Hospital, Kalamazoo, which institution had been established by his bounty, May 3, 1890, in his 64th year.

The last decade of the nineteenth century was made memorable in the history of the Church in Detroit during the two centuries of its existence by the appointment of Right Rev. John S. Foley, D. D., as fourth Bishop of the diocese. He was the protegé of the Cardinal

[27] Prior to the departure of Bishop-elect Maes he was honored by the Catholics of Detroit with a public ovation, when he was presented with an episcopal outfit of such costly appointments as evinced the love and esteem in which he was held.
[28] Vicar General Hennaert and Joos assumed control of the diocese.

Archbishop of Baltimore, by whom he was consecrated in the historic Cathedral of this metropolitan city November 4, 1888. There were present at this magnificent ceremony more than 100 priests, six monsignors, nineteen Bishops, three Archbishops and a lay delegation of twenty of the prominent citizens of Detroit. Among the priests present were nearly all the pastors of the churches of Detroit. The sermon was preached by the Most Rev. Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia.

It was claimed at the time that this grand ceremony had a dual signification; that while the Cardinal Archbishop thus manifested his high esteem for his protegé, Bishop and diocese shared the honors.

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

Detroit, Michigan.

SAINT ENNODIUS AND THE PAPAL SUPREMACY.

II.

THE murderous riots, which were organized by the disappointed factionists, were the immediate occasion of King Theodoric's visit, but the cautious conqueror of Italy had been long awaiting a plausible opportunity that circumstances might spontaneously offer to take formal possession of the old capital of the empire, and to strengthen the foundations of his throne by resting it on the cheerful support of the Roman Senate and on the solid attachment of all the people, nobility and democracy. He surrounded himself with all that pomp and magnificence, gorgeously equipped cavalry and splendid chariots, which the old Romans loved and admired so much; and, like their conquering heroes of happier days, he halted at the city walls, where he was met and accorded a princely reception by the Consuls and proud Senators in their rich official robes. The orator selected to act as spokesman, representing Senate and people, was the most distinguished Roman of his day, Böetius, the author of the well-known work, "The Consolation of Philosophy." On his father's side he belonged to the ancient and renowned stock of Manlius Torquatus, and on his mother's to that of the Severini. His illustrious birth, his brilliant eloquence, his sterling character and his abilities as a statesman raised him to the highest honors and dignities that the city and the King could bestow. Eventually his unflinching assertion of his fidelity to the Church won for him the crown of martyrdom. His address of welcome to Theodoric, called a panegyric as Greek pronouncements of such a

character were designated, was worthy of the historic occasion and of the illustrious monarch. In him and in Avienus, one of the Consuls for that year and a former pupil of Ennodius, the Pope possessed two warm and uncompromising supporters. No sooner had the royal visitor been received within the walls than he proceeded to pay his respects to the Roman Pontiff. During his prolonged sojourn of six months in the Holy City the flames of strife were smothered; only, however, to break out more violently than ever as soon as his intimidating presence was removed. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the agents of dissension left no scheme untried to secure the King's favor during his long stay in the city; but their outrageous conduct repelled his sympathy, while their hollow protestations failed to shake his just convictions.

The renewed outbreak of riot and violence following the withdrawal of the King and his numerous retinue of soldiers caused the peace-loving Pontiff to offer spontaneously to submit to the judgment of a duly convened council of his brother bishops the whole question of the incriminations fabricated against him. With a view, therefore, to terminate the tumult and scandal, even at the expense of humiliating himself in the most self-sacrificing manner, he wrote, as already explained, begging the King to summon the bishops to Rome and promising to place no obstacle in the way of their fully and freely deliberating and arriving at a definite decision. It will be readily understood how much more conveniently and effectively the King could call together all the prelates than could the Pope in the existing circumstances; but, of course, the convocation was due to the Papal authority and initiative.

From the acts of this third Council we gather that the first session was held in August, 501, when Pope Symmachus presented himself at the very opening and explained that the assembly had been canonically convened, since the King, whom he thanked most cordially, had acted in strict conformity with his request. Two points, however, he would insist upon preliminary to a judicial hearing of the charges brought against him: first, that the Visitor should at once and permanently withdraw, since the existence and presence of such an official were manifestly uncanonical; secondly, that he himself should be reinstated in the possession of all the property and treasure of which the intrigues and violence of his enemies had deprived him. Both these demands were applauded warmly by the great majority of the assembly; but for the sake of peace and with the hope of ending the unseemly business once and forever, it was agreed to send deputies to solicit the King's advice in the matter. Theodoric was reported by the messengers to have decided that the Pope ought to await the restitution of his property until the investigation of the

charges preferred against him would have first concluded. Obviously the criminal despoilers of church property were not in a position to bring forward accusations against anybody; nor was there any guarantee that, if their insidious efforts to compass the deposition of the Pope ended in failure, as they were doomed to end, such reckless miscreants could be made amenable to the authority of Council or Pope. This first session had been held in the Julian Basilica; but the second took place in the Jerusalem Basilica, after an interval of some weeks.

When the deputation that had been commissioned to obtain the King's decision on the principal point raised by the Pope had delivered their message some of the Antipope's partisans proposed that the assembly should now proceed to formulate their judgment, as the King had given the deputation this order in virtue of his conviction, duly and maturely arrived at in Rome, that Symmachus was guilty of the crimes imputed to him. This allegation was at once met with the objection that if the King had judicially investigated the case and found the Pontiff guilty, why did he entreat them to try to arrive at a decision without even suggesting that he himself had examined the charges at all, much less formed a clear and decisive judgment of the guilt of the accused? The falsity of this statement was too obvious to provoke any lengthened debate; but when that difficulty was removed another was raised. The factionists demanded that the Pope should deliver up his slaves, who, they alleged, were material witnesses in the most damaging of the incriminations. Both the canon and civil law prohibited the admission of the evidence of slaves unless they were subjected to torture—*assertio servilis innocenti examine non probanda*—and even then their testimony would not be sufficient to justify either acquittal or condemnation unless other reliable witnesses were forthcoming. There is no proof that the Pontiff himself refused to give up the slaves *to the Council;* everything points to his readiness to comply with any conditions exacted, however humiliating. But, as Ennodius argues, the oath of a slave without the application of torture was inadmissible in any court; to apply torture was against the spirit of the Church and so cruel a relic of barbarism that the bishops could not for a moment entertain the idea of resorting to it; the accusers must, therefore, see that this evidence is utterly excluded, and it is clear they are not *bona fide* in their unheard-of demand. It is hardly necessary to caution the reader against regarding the existence of *slaves* in the Papal household as anything extraordinary in those days; Christianity had lightened the yoke of slavery, but did not at once entirely abolish this ancient institution. The final extinction of slavery in the countries dominated by the spiritual sway of the

Latin Church was only effected by the famous edict of Pope Alexander III. in the twelfth century. We read of St. Symmachus in the *Liber Pontificalis:* "Episcopis Africanis exulibus pecuniam et vestes singulis annis mittebat; captivos per diversas provincias pecunia redemit, et dona multiplicavit et dimisit."

In the meantime, while these animated discussions were engaging the attention of the assembled bishops, the venerable Pontiff, bending under the terrible weight of humiliation and heart-bleeding grief for his poor flock, who were being scandalized and torn from their loving shepherd, set out from St. Peter's to confront his clamorous and conscienceless accusers. But it was not in vain that the blood of the two great apostles and of countless holy martyrs had consecrated and endeared the old city to the Sacred Heart of the Redeemer. If the Christian sentiment of Rome had not rebelled against the infernal savagery with which its revered Bishop and spiritual Father was being persecuted, "the very stones would rise in mutiny." Such scenes of wild indignation had not been witnessed in the city of Seven Hills since the soul-stirring and tragic event of Virginia, a thousand years before. Ladies of noblest birth contended with ragged beggar-women, proud senators with the pious plebeians, in their efforts to show their sympathy for their beloved Pontiff by crowding around him, and consoling him by their prayers and tears on his way to the hall, where the synod was being held. These manifestations of heartfelt love and piety maddened the hostile party, who were strangers to every feeling of religion or public decency; a hired mob assailed the sad and peaceful procession with undiscriminating fury, smiting everybody who came in their way, wounding hundreds of the defenseless multitude, and murdering numbers of persons, lay and cleric, without distinction and without mercy. The *Liber Pontificalis* presents a sickening picture of the outrages committed: "Caedes et homicidia in clero ex invidia fiebant. Qui vero communicabant beato Symmacho juste, publice qui inventi fuissent intra urbem gladio occidebantur. Etiam et sanctimoniales mulieres et virgines deponentes de monasteriis vel de habitaculis suis, denudantes sexum femineum coedibus plagarum afflictas vulnerabant, et omni die pugnas contra ecclesiam in medio civitatis gerebant. Etiam multos sacerdotes occiderunt inter quos Dignissimum et Gordianum presbyteros et multos alios Christianos."

The malignant accusers, possessing no legal or trustworthy evidence and seeing the current of justice and sympathy irresistible, abandoned the Council and devoted themselves to the more congenial work of stimulating brutal assault and promiscuous violence. From the very opening of the assembly the sweeping majority of the

bishops had strenuously opposed the hearing of the charges at all, inasmuch as they were incompetent to deal with them judicially, the Holy See being entirely above their jurisdiction. Common prudence, however, and the good of the Church demanded that they should comply with the wishes of the King as far as was consistent with the canons; and since he had so urgently impressed upon them to settle the matter definitely before they would break up they remained in the city and forwarded to him an exhaustive report of the sessions they had held and of the tumultuous sequel to their deliberations. Naturally enough Symmachus declined to leave the precincts of his palace again, as his life would be exposed to extreme peril, and all who would venture to show sympathy or to extend protection would incur similar risk. On the previous occasion three officers of the King had sworn to protect him, and, faithful to their oaths, they succeeded in rescuing himself, but could make no attempt to defend his helpless followers. Theodoric's reply to the message of the prelates requesting him to relieve them from their perplexity is a most marvelous document from whatever standpoint we may view it. Having premised that if he had considered this trial a matter in which he could interfere, he felt quite convinced that himself and his chief magistrates could have judicially examined all the bearings of the case and have long since arrived at an impartial and just decision; he adds: "It is a matter entirely resting with you under God's guidance, and if you regard it as wrong to take cognisance of the charges, then adopt some other means of quelling sedition and riot" —"Qualiter vultis ordinate, sive discussa sive *indiscussa* causa, proferte sententiam, de qua estis rationem divino judicio reddituri." The unconscious testimony of secular princes and of men of transcendent genius, even outside the pale of her communion, to the divine commission of the Church, has been both frequent and striking, but we question whether a more remarkable instance of it is recorded than that which the conduct and correspondence of the enlightened Arian Theodoric furnished during this controversy.

The bishops reassemble on the 6th of November and decide that *in the eyes of men* Pope Symmachus is free from crime and stain; but that the question of his culpability or innocence in the sight of heaven must be reserved to God, who alone has jurisdiction to judge the Vicar of Christ. They pronounced him "free from every alleged incrimination and outside the reach of legal pursuit in all things that regarded men, reëstablished in full jurisdiction over all churches dependent on the Holy See and entitled to all the ecclesiastical rights of Sovereign Pontiff within and without the city of Rome. Let no Christian, therefore, in those churches hesitate to communicate with him or to receive Holy Communion at his hands"—"Totam causam

Dei judicio reservantes, universos hortamur, ut sacram communionem (sicut respostulat) ab eo percipiant."

Just at the moment when the Church seemed almost strangled by sedition her voice rings out clearly, to be carried down through the centuries on the winds of time, her unchanging and infallible accents. It was a decree of colossal importance, at once solidifying and entrenching the Papal supremacy, while it thrust back in confusion and impotence the powers of hell that had charged with such desperate ferocity. *Digitus Dei est hic;* undoubtedly, but humanly viewed the brunt of the fight was borne cheerfully and well by the material resources, the tact, the ability and the Christian fortitude of Ennodius, powerfully supported by the Senator Faustus. The faithful and illustrious Bishop of Milan, the warm friend and zealous fellow-worker of Ennodius in this holy cause, is the first to append his name, and the form of his subscription excludes the possibility of doubt as to the meaning of the decision: "Ego, Laurentius, Episcopus ecclesiae Mediolanensis, subscripsi huic sententiae a nobis latae quâ tota causa judicio Dei relata est." Pardon is extended to the bishops and clergy who had taken part in this disgraceful campaign of calumny and violence, on condition of their immediate return to the bosom of the Church and the renunciation of the calamitous career they had been following. The Senate had already decreed to follow the sage and inspired example of non-interference so admirably set them by the King. And now everything appeared settled and tranquillity once more returned to the streets and churches of the sacred city; but the calm was only on the surface. There were still raging ugly undercurrents of discontent, and murmurs of indignation at the alleged miscarriage of justice were sedulously propagated by a contemptible and rapidly dwindling clique. These secret whisperings soon found expression in a cleverly written, insidious pamphlet entitled "Adversus Synodum Absolutionis Incongruae," which Ennodius rightly designates an "opus foetidum."

One hundred and fifteen bishops had attended the first session of this famous Council, but many of them had retired to their respective sees during the riots and lengthened interruptions. Sixty-seven names are appended to the decrees. The heads of the Church in Gaul had in the meantime learned that their brother prelates in Italy had assembled to judge the recognized Supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church, and being unaware that the proceedings were initiated by the Pope himself, they were astounded beyond measure that anybody had dared to sit in judgment on the highest earthly judge. When the decree of acquittal was received by them they assembled in council under the presidency of Saint Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, grandson of the Emperor Avitus and an illustrious

Roman Senator as well as a cultured and zealous ecclesiastic. They addressed a memorable letter to the chief men among the Senate: "When we perused the decree bearing on the subject of the Pontiff we were seized with the deepest alarm, being persuaded, as we are still, that the whole episcopal fabric is shaken when its foundation and source of strength is attacked. We cannot conceive what law there is that could confer on inferiors the right to judge their superior. If anything is considered irregular or unlawful in the conduct of other prelates, there is their common Head, the Roman Pontiff, to pronounce judgment and to demand reformation; but when the authority of the Roman Pontiff himself is impugned, then it is not an individual bishop, but the whole episcopacy that is placed in peril. When the sailors meet and attack the captain of the ship, is it right to encourage the mutineers? That supreme shepherd who is at the head of the flock of our Lord must render an account of his conduct, but it is the Sovereign Judge, and not the flock, that can exact from him that account. We find some consolation in the fact that the assembled prelates have referred the judgment to Almighty God and have attested before the world that neither they nor King Theodoric have discovered any evidence in support of the accusations preferred." This unmistakable and emphatic assertion of the traditional teaching of the Church on the question of the Papal supremacy is not merely the expression of the deep-rooted belief of the Bishops of Gaul; it is, furthermore, a strong and a bright link in the golden chain of unity in faith and in allegiance that then as now bound the Catholic churches of all nations to the Holy See, "the mother and the mistress of all the churches."

The *Liber Pontificalis* informs us that one happy result of the groundless arraignment and honorable acquittal was to restore thoroughly the high prestige of the Roman Pontiff and to enhance his personal reputation and popularity. But the work was incomplete as long as the foul breath of calumny was allowed to taint the atmosphere. Falsehoods and base insinuations were the last ramparts of the ignoble vanquished, and even these had to be demolished. Hitherto the organizer of victory kept in the rearguard of the fight; now it was necessary that he should be placed in the very forefront. A fourth council was convened, and it is generally affirmed by historians that the prelates who had come from very distant parts remained in the Holy City by desire of the Pope during the interval of close on twelve months between the issue of their historic judgment and this fourth council. This hypothesis is grounded on the identity of names and the slowness and other difficulties attending locomotion in those days; and its probability is much increased when we consider the constant signs manifested of a recrudescence of the

sedition and scandal. The assembly now convened for the autumn of 502 is known in history as the "Synodus Palmaris," from the name of the hall where the bishops met in deliberation. The opening address of the Roman Pontiff, who of course presided, confirms the opinion of Baronius, who regards this synod merely as a continuation or the concluding sessions of the third council. "*This* venerable assembly," says His Holiness, "faithful to the observance of the ecclesiastical laws and with a becoming fear of the wrath of God, has rightly decreed everything it was their duty or privilege to determine, and thereby discharged the debt of justice with scrupulous exactitude. Your decision has provided for all contingencies; there is nothing to be added to it, more particularly as regards those ecclesiastics whose ambition for power has broken the yoke of canonical discipline."

It has been already stated that one of the indictments brought against Pope Symmachus was the alleged reckless expenditure of public funds of which he was merely the administrator and not the proprietor. The manuscript of Verona gives great prominence to this charge; hence it is manifest that his accusers made the most effective use of it that facts and a wilfully wrong interpretation of what was meant by Canon Law of binding force enabled them to make. To the charge of scandalous conduct Symmachus had already given an answer more weighty and crushing than any defense in words. He had induced the bishops to enact that every ecclesiastic bound by a vow of chastity should have always near him, day and night, a *syncellanus*, who could testify to the purity of his life if exigencies required. Even Ennodius expends on this point very little of his impassioned eloquence; he quotes Cicero for the self-evident dictum that accusation is one thing, but calumny quite another; adduces some telling citations from Scripture, and then justly upbraids the maligners with the total absence of proof. But being now reinstated in power and restored to liberty of action and of speech, the Pontiff himself brings before the synod the alleged mismanagement of Church funds and secures important legislation on the subject. Here, again, we have the plainest evidence of the intimate connection between the two councils; what is introduced as an impeachment before the first assembly is fully answered and the matter legislated upon in the second. In language of just indignation His Holiness exclaims in his introductory address: "In omnes, quos in me vanus furor excitavit, agnoscant me nihil magis studere, quam ut salvum esse possit quod mihi est a Deo sub dispensatione commissum."

The particular statute which the Pontiff was charged with infringing was designated the Law of Odoacer, from the circumstances

in which it was sought to have it imposed upon the Church in the name of that monarch. Six days after the death of Pope Simplicius, in 483, the clergy, Senate and people assembled in St. Peter's to elect a successor, according to the custom that then prevailed. Before the proceedings had concluded the patrician Basilius presented himself in presence of the assembly as the accredited representative of the King, Odoacer. Having first complained that the election should not have been undertaken without the sanction of the King, he proclaimed aloud there and then the enactment in question, having neither asked nor obtained the concurrence or fiat of any ecclesiastical authority. It ran thus: "That the Pontiff about to be elected and his successors forever are hereby forbidden to alienate to any other purpose or to the use of any other building than those named by the donor, any possessions or goods, immovable or movable, that have been presented to or acquired by the Church, whether in the city or outside its walls. Any sale or conveyance in contravention of this law shall be null and void, and the person attempting such conveyance shall by that very act incur anathema. A similar penalty and censure shall be entailed by the purchaser as well as by his heirs in actual possession of the property, whether immediate or mediate, and so forth."

In the Acts of the Council we find a clear and exhaustive statement of the position in which the Roman Pontiff stood in reference to this pronouncement of a purely secular authority. "Suppose the priests of a diocese apart from their bishop or the bishops of a province in defiance of their metropolitan were to assemble and to attempt to pass a law that would be binding on the said bishop or said metropolitan, would such pretended legislation have the binding force of a statute? And if not, with how much greater reason must we regard as utterly null and void the so-called laws that secular authorities, laics, have presumed to dictate to the Apostolic See? There was even at the time no existing Roman Pontiff who alone in virtue of the supremacy derived from St. Peter could give force and sanction to such a statute. Such decrees can in no sense be reckoned among the number of canonical laws." The "law of Odoacer" was, therefore, declared uncanonical and nugatory, but a synodal statute was now passed embodying many of its provisions. Thus was Symmachus exonerated and the domains and other property of the Church at the same time protected against destruction or alienation. Nothing further remained to be transacted by this Council except the question of dealing with the vile and dangerous pamphlet that assailed so insidiously the legality and motives of the Synodus Palmaris. A commission is formally given to Ennodius in the name and by the authority of the Council to embody the views

of the assembly and the arguments supplied by the Canon Law, with which he was known to be so intimately conversant, in an orderly and exhaustive reply to all the enemy's statements of law and fact. Some writers are of opinion that this order was issued by the fifth Council; that Ennodius happened to be at Rome, as indeed we may fairly assume, and that a few days sufficed to enable this brilliant and ready expert in pleading to prepare his famous "Apologia." It matters little from which assembly he received the command; both possessed the same supreme authority under the presidency of the Pope, and even in personnel there is not any notable difference. The opening address supplies the date, "after the consulship of Avienus," or 503, and proceeds to announce the object for which the synod was convened, namely, to hear the "Apologia" composed by Ennodius read by that eminent ecclesiastic and to approve of it as embodying the principles of true doctrine and right discipline. We have already given numerous quotations from this wonderful document as the subject-matter appeared to demand, and hence we shall here confine our attention to a few points that seem to need further elucidation.

Mere allegations of fact do not touch the question of Papal supremacy at all save in a remote or accidental manner, and it is with this aspect of the case that we are mainly concerned. On comparing the acts of the various Councils with the "Apologia" we cannot fail to be struck with the remarkable agreement of the tone and general aim of the assembled bishops and of the "Apologist." Was it merely by chance, for instance, or with a view to assert the said supremacy of the Apostolic See that such a marked divergence of form was observed by Symmachus, the Roman Pontiff, and by Laurence of Milan and the rest of the prelates in the signatures of the acts of the fourth Council? "I, Coelius Symmachus, Bishop of the Church of Rome, have signed this constitution *made by Us*," and "I, Coelius Laurence, Bishop of the Holy Church of Milan, have signed this constitution *made by the venerable Pope Symmachus*."

Every argument and every specious allegation that ingenuity could suggest were resorted to in order to weaken the deadly effect on the schismatics of the crushing judgment of the "Synodus Palmaris," or as they indignantly designated it, the "Synodus Absolutionis Incongruae." The first and most obvious of their objections has been already solved by anticipation, where it was explained that many of the bishops attending the early sessions of the third Council had been taken themselves to their respective homes before the proceedings, retarded by long interruptions, had reached the happy termination so ardently wished for. But the pamphlet suggests that there were many prelates in Rome who absented themselves from

the final session and in no way endorsed the judgment impugned. Though Ennodius had warned his illustrious audience, in his exordium, that all ornaments of style were to be carefully avoided in his effort to present unvarnished narrative and plain arguments, yet he here dashes forth into the sublimest flights of oratory. "No doubt there were some black sheep in the flock; they hid themselves in the obscurity that became them; they had loved to plot and plan and intrigue in secret. Will they feel grateful to their friends for dragging them into the light?" Naturally enough, when the factionists found themselves in such a wretched minority, and saw no prospect of being able even to create a riot of respectable dimensions, owing to the presence of three high military functionaries of Theodoric at the synod, they discreetly withdrew.

Here it may not be out of place to remark that it would be at once unjust and untrue to represent *all* the opponents of Pope Symmachus as utterly devoid of personal sanctity. On occasions of the kind there are invariably some unfortunate dupes that allow themselves to be swayed by private predilections or to be misled by false appearances. Conspicuous as an example of that class was the exemplary and saintly Paschasius, of whom Saint Gregory narrates that although he had done great penance and died a holy death, he was detained in Purgatory for a considerable time on account solely of the part he took in the schism, though his error was not fully deliberate or malicious. Thirty Masses had been ordered by St. Gregory to be celebrated for his soul on so many consecutive days, and at the conclusion of that time, though Gregory had quite forgotten the instructions he had given, Paschasius appeared to a companion to return thanks for the Masses and to say that it was the efficacy of the Holy Sacrifice so constantly offered that had satisfied even then for his already forgiven crime against the Holy See.

There is one portion of the "Apologia" that appears at first sight overweighted with hyperbole, but on closer examination it becomes manifest that the strict limits of fact and logical reasoning are fairly well observed. Even friendly critics sometimes admit that the language is somewhat too strong, but plead that the exaggeration is at once natural and pardonable. No doubt isolated sentences smack of exaggeration, but viewed in the context the statements and deductions are truthful and legitimate. The writers who have sought to place the Papal authority on a level inferior to that of an Œcumenical Council labor this point with disgusting excess and subtlety. They affirm roundly that the doctrine conveyed by Ennodius may be enunciated in these terms: Every successor of St. Peter is either already impeccable or his elevation to the Papacy renders him so; and they base the sweeping inference they wish to be deduced from

this false proposition on the well-worn axiom of philosophy, "*Qui nimis probat, nil probat.*" Take, for instance, the following passage, and see whether it supposes the Roman Pontiff incapable of sinning: "I have searched carefully and probed to the very bottom the alleged irregularities of Symmachus. I am not the man to wish that this See, on which so many distinguished Popes have shed the lustre of their learning and sanctity, should now be dishonored; fear not that I have failed to make the most exhaustive investigation. If Pope Symmachus is guilty, believe me, the judgment of God will fall heavy upon him at the close of his brief and troubled career. In the balance of that all-seeing and all-just Judge the scale of chastisement or the scale of reward will incline by the infallible test of merit."

It is perfecty needless to multiply quotations. These few sentences abundantly show that Ennodius neither believed nor asserted that the Pope is impeccable. To be exalted above the jurisdiction of earthly tribunals is one thing, as Ennodius well knew, and to be raised above human frailty and the liability to sin is quite another. But the orator very justly observes that such instances of vicious habits or of gross crimes on the part of the Roman Pontiffs have been neither so frequent nor so glaring as to break notably the continuity of strong virtue as well as faith transmitted from St. Peter untarnished through the long line of his unimpeachable successors. This immunity of the Holy See from grave blemishes, as a general rule, is the result of two causes principally. First, the extreme care and numerous precautions employed in the selection of a suitable man to elevate to that highest of all dignities in this world is in itself an important guarantee that his future life will be as edifying at least as his past career is known to have been. Again, the weighty responsibility and the ever-present consciousness of what is expected from him, even humanly speaking, steady the wavering efforts of nature and strengthen the healthy influence of self-respect. Lastly but chiefly, the supernatural aids merited by personal holiness and good works or obtained through the intercession and sufferings of the first Pope, St. Peter, who cannot cease to watch over the spotlessness of the tiara, and of the many illustrious Pontiffs, saints and martyrs whose powerful prayers are unceasingly offered before the throne of God for the latest successor in their imperishable dynasty.

"Saint Peter, of glorious memory, has transmitted to his successors an undying heritage of merits as well as of sanctity. What he himself gained by the abundant and lustrous excellence of his works is communicated to them, in some measure, as associated with him in the same dignity. For who can doubt the holiness of that bishop who has the grace of holiness supplied to him in abundance by the

example and merits of his predecessors, even though he had not been himself remarkable in the past for personal sanctity in any extraordinary degree? In a word, either St. Peter raises to that honor such persons only as are illuminated with the grace of God, or he procures for them that illuminating grace at their elevation; for he is singularly in a position to appreciate what is needful for the foundation on which the fabric of the Universal Church is to be supported."

This passage presents the head and front of his offending, and yet when viewed in conjunction with and in the light of the entire context, no impartial reader will detect in it such undue exaggeration as can detract in the slightest from his estimation of the cogent reasoning and excellent discernment of the orator. The various forms of support that combine to secure the successor of Peter against the assaults of Satan and a wicked world are enumerated, and among them the special protection and intercession of the first great Vicar of Christ; but the infallibility of the Pope in his teaching capacity rests on the divine promises alone: "Thou art Peter (Rock), and upon *this* Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it." "I have asked on thy behalf that thy faith fail not, and do thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren." The infallibility of the Church is a different element of unfailing immunity from error vested in the corporate body as well as in the head, and indicated in the texts: "Behold I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world;" "He that hears you hears me," and so forth. Whereas impeccability, either in regard to personal righteousness or official freedom from faults other than doctrinal, is nowhere promised in the Sacred Writings, and has never been claimed by either the Prince of the Apostles or any of his successors. Unfortunately, history proves but too conclusively that an unworthy aspirant may succeed in reaching that sublime dignity and that his elevation does not necessarily change him into an angel. The same Divine Redeemer who permitted an unworthy follower to be enrolled and to remain to the end in the sacred community of the Apostles has permitted also, for the same inscrutable motives, an ambitious or simoniacal ecclesiastic to fill the chair of Peter, from time to time, but the infallibility ever emerges unsmirched from such searching tests.

"But," demanded the adversaries of Symmachus, "if the Roman Pontiff and the majority of the bishops, as you maintain, believed consistently from the beginning that no earthly power can sit in judgment on the Pope, why did they allow the Council to be convened for that express purpose? And, secondly, if the Council thus assembled were right in their much applauded decision that they had

absolutely no jurisdiction in the case—*qualitas negotii transit audituros*—then surely their acquittal of the accused cannot claim any value or respect." It is on this last point of alleged inconsistency that the title of the pamphlet is based, "*Adversus Synodum Absolutionis Incongruae.*"

In reply to the first objection here advanced, Ennodius quotes a decree of the Council of Carthage, which prescribes special procedure in regard to accusations that emanate from individuals belonging to the household of the person arraigned. Obviously private hatred, wounded pride, disappointed ambition, grasping avarice or some such malignant motive may naturally be suspected to have prompted such incriminations. Now, if the bishops remained away each in his own cathedral town, they could take no collective action or make no proper inquiry into the origin of these charges, and would necessarily run the risk of allowing an innocent man to suffer, a fair reputation to be blighted and the Head of the Church to be unjustly and cruelly calumniated, to the ineffable scandal of all the faithful. Besides, the King repeatedly points out in his letters what was also in the minds of the assembled prelates the dominant reason why they were called to Rome and detained there until they would arrive at a final decision; namely, to restore tranquillity to Church and State, *causa discussa aut indiscussa.*

The obvious answer to the second point of inconsistency alleged is that even a "court of first instance," that possesses no jurisdiction to mark punishment, can undoubtedly declare that the case against the accused is unsustainable and, as the English jurists express it, find "no bill," that is, declare there is no *primâ facie* credible evidence of guilt. Before a criminal charge is submitted to a Judge of Assize the heads of the available testimony in support of it are examined by the "grand jury," and by finding a "true bill" or "no bill" they send the case for trial or scout it out of court. The Scottish legal phrase "not proven" expresses still more precisely the meaning of the sentence pronounced in favor of Symmachus.

But supposing the evidence had been both abundant and convincing against Pope Symmachus, what course remained open to the bishops while discharging their conscientious duty on the one hand and respecting the Papal supremacy, as they were bound, on the other? Any reader acquainted with ecclesiastical history will recall the remarkable story of the condemnation of Pope Marcellinus, which rightly interprets the spirit of the Church and accurately conveys the traditional teaching from the earliest ages. It was during the persecution of Diocletian, and Marcellinus is said, by many writers mostly on the authority of Donatists, to have been frightened into an open act of apostasy by swinging a censer before an idol.

Three hundred bishops and thirty priests, it is stated, assembled at Sinnessa Pometia to hold an indignation meeting and to publicly dissociate themselves from such a scandalous betrayal of his high trust. The acts of this Council inform us that the unanimous decision of the assembly was expressed in these words, which the Pope was summoned and duly presented himself to hear: "Tu eris judex; ex te enim damnaberis et ex et justificateris, tamen in nostra praesentia." Marcellinus publicly confessed his scandalous abjuration of the faith and pronounced judgment upon himself according to the terrible penances prescribed in those days. Then the bishop who was to affix his signature first, Helciades, arose and declared in a solemn tone: "Juste condemnatus est ore suo, et ore suo anathema in se suscepit; nemo enim unquam judicavit Pontificem, quoniam prima Sedes non judicabitur a quopiam."

The long-sustained plaudits accorded by the august assembly to the eloquent deacon of Milan were echoed throughout the wide expanse of Christendom; for the "Apologia" was stamped by the Pope and Council with the seal of approval and ordered to be incorporated with the official acts. This was an unprecedented honor; but it was not to enhance his own fame that he labored. Had he been ambitious, the dignities of the Church were at his acceptance, for his merit and qualifications were unquestionable. It was eight long years afterwards that he was prevailed upon to exchange the humble and laborious post of teacher and deacon for the higher and more responsible dignity of Bishop of Pavia. His life-long friend and enthusiastic admirer, Pope Hormisdas, employed him afterwards, on two different occasions, to execute a mission of supreme importance and of trying delicacy to the imperial court of Constantinople. The hardships and perils so heroically endured on the second trip shattered his constitution and contributed largely to his early and lamented death. His bones rest in his beloved Pavia, near those of the great Saint Augustine, after whose illustrious example he had patterned his life and works.

E. Maguire.

Vienne, France.

PROTESTANT DOMINATION OVER WEAK COMMUNITIES.

AN HISTORICAL STUDY.

MANY public men throughout the United States assert that the subjugation of the people of the Philippine Islands will prove of great advantage to the Filipinos; that under American rule they will be taught a much higher grade of civilization than that which they now have, or that they could possibly have attained under Spanish authority, or that they could reach through any effort of their own unaided by outsiders.

Many American Protestant preachers in the press and from pulpit and platform assert with equal assurance that the subjugation of the Filipinos will mean for them a much higher type of Christianity than they now exhibit; that it will mean for them the Gospel truth as represented by the multifarious Protestant sects, and hence that they will be morally benefited by the establishment of American authority over them. The assurance of politician and preacher is quite flattering to our national vanity and it appeals with force to pious Protestant souls who still cling with desperate fidelity to the Bible despite the "higher criticism" and the wholesale disintegration of the Protestant sects into Rationalism.

Without questioning in the least the perfect sincerity and good faith of politician or preacher respecting the temporal and the eternal welfare of the Philippine Islander, this question must arise in the mind of every simple American: "What reasonable ground have we before us which tends to support the flattering assertions of politician and preacher?" This we know: We have had considerable experience already in our history in this matter of dealing with so-called inferior races, that is to say, with people not of the Caucasian race. For nearly three hundred years we have been engaged in civilizing and Christianizing the red man. And what is the result of our efforts with him? It is this: within the extent of our dominion the red man is almost extinct. In a brief space of time the last representative of that race will have escaped our control by death.

Our experience with the black man extends over an almost equal period of years. And how do we find the black man as he exists in our midst to-day? He is looked down upon generally as an inferior being, as one created inferior in the order of Nature; the taint of African blood in his veins, however scant it may be, is regarded as a stigma and mark of inferiority. He is trampled upon from time to

time, his person is insecure, he is subject to the animosity of individuals or lawless mobs without adequate redress under the laws. Special laws are passed by white men who call themselves Christians to emphasize the distinction between the races, and these laws are passed with the assent and approval of Godly Protestant preachers. In a word, the story of our relations with the red man has been a tragic one, now practically ended. We are yet in the middle of the chapter with the black race, with a most gloomy outlook ahead.

Yet in the face of these facts, notwithstanding those lurid chapters of our history which should bring the blush of shame to every Christian brow, we are strenuously invited, nay, we are appealed to, in the name of Christianity, to try our civilizing influences on the brown man, seven thousand miles from the territory in which we have all but exterminated the red man.

That we have failed disastrously respecting the red is a conclusive historical fact, and that we are doomed to failure with the black is almost indubitable unless some new element enters into our mode of action. But why have we failed? Our intentions were doubtless good towards both races, and yet absolute failure has been the result of our efforts. The answer to this question opens up a larger one which essentially includes it. It may be stated in the simplest terms in this form:

1. No Protestant nations or Protestant missionaries have ever yet converted to Christianity or civilized a pagan nation or community.

2. The domination of a Protestant nation over every so-called inferior race has resulted either in the extermination of the latter or in its absolute subordination to the Protestant conqueror, who has exploited the people for the material benefit of the rulers.

3. Catholic nations and Catholic missionaries alone have been successful in converting and civilizing pagan communities.

These statements are simply questions of fact supported by abundant testimony from the pages of history. Before entering upon a brief consideration of them let us first clear the air of false concepts respecting inferior races. It is quite certain that the idea of an inferior race is not a Catholic idea. It is essentially a pagan concept and has been adopted by Protestantism, as exemplified by Protestant nations in their dealings with weak peoples.

"Of one blood God hath made all mankind." "Go, teach all nations," was the command of the Master to His disciples. "There is neither Gentile nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all in all." These and other injunctions of the Master express the Catholic concept of the brotherhood of the race in full essence and vigor. That there are

weak races and communities, just as we find weak individuals, deficient it may be in coherence or cunning or physical strength or arms of precision for destroying human life, is quite true. But they may not be inferior, therefore, in all that constitutes true greatness. We know that the Spotless One was offered an extensive territory, provided He bowed down and worshiped the Evil One, and that He refused, and we know the sequel; the motley mob who looked for a Messiah of worldly power crying out, "Crucify Him! Crucify Him!" and then the awful consummation on Calvary.

Weak nations or communities, be they civilized or uncivilized, are regarded quite generally as possessing no rights that the so-called world powers are bound to respect. Power and right are regarded generally as convertible terms by diplomatists and politicians who represent the world spirit. Indeed, of late it would seem that some American Catholics are seriously affected in this respect by the semi-pagan environment which surrounds them. Colonel Denby, ex-Minister to China, who, it is alleged, is a Catholic, is a notable instance of this, as evidenced by various articles from his pen that have been published from time to time during the past two years in various publications, in which he advocates not only the subjugation of the Filipinos, but suggests that the United States should grab a portion of the Chinese Empire in the interest of civilization.

We find also an excellent priest of the Dominican order in a book which he has written about the Filipinos characterizing them as an inferior race and referring to the black people of Hayti and Santo Domingo in the same way. This, to say the least, is rather a singular attitude for a priest of the order of Saint Dominic to take. Just here a word respecting these Filipino Christians. The writer of this article in a lengthy conversation on the subject with an American priest who had spent several months on the Island of Luzon asked him this question: "From your observation of the Filipinos whom you met, how will they compare—say the 2,000,000 people of Luzon with the 2,000,000 people of the city of Chicago?" His answer was substantially that as well as he could judge the Luzon Christians in the observance of the moral law and the practice of the domestic virtues would compare more than favorably with the population of Chicago. They do not possess such enormous buildings nor such evidences of material wealth concentrated in the hands of a few, but neither do they present such evidences of abject poverty and moral degradation. He said further that the Filipino Christian could with much truth say to the American, as Athenagoras of Athens, one of the early Christian apologists, said to the pagan philosophers: "Among us will be found the ignorant, the poor, laborers and old women who cannot, perhaps, define by reasoning the truth of their

doctrine. They do not enter into discussion, but they do good works. The most aged they honor as their fathers and mothers. The hope of another life makes them despise the present, even in the midst of lawful pleasures. Marriage with them is a holy vocation, which imparts the grace necessary to bring up their children in the fear of the Lord."

With this clearing of the atmosphere respecting the phrase "inferior races," let us now proceed to the consideration of the first point, namely: "No Protestant nations or Protestant missionaries have ever yet converted to Christianity or civilized a pagan nation or community."

Let us take first the case of England's dealings with pagan communities, because that nation is recognized as the leading Protestant one of the world and the source heretofore of the greatest volume of Protestant missionary effort. And first as to its dealing with India, an extensive territory containing a population of nearly 300,000,000 of people under British control. England became the paramount power in that territory in 1757 as a consequence of Lord Clive's signal victory over the Mogul power. After the victory the British officials established a system of government which has been described by many eminent authorities as forming one of the most revolting and horrible chapters to be found on the page of history. The natives were robbed, imprisoned and murdered by the British governing classes without remorse or mercy. Those were the days of Vansittart and Hastings. Edmund Burke declared in the British House of Commons that "were we to be driven out of India this day nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by any better than the ourang-outang or the tiger."

From that day to this the rule of Britain in India has been marked by pestilence, periodical famine and rebellion. Wholesale famine sweeps off the natives by the million every few years, while they are compelled to support an enormous native army paid to hold them in subjection, as well as a European army, and also to pay enormous salaries to a host of British officials. The country is dominated primarily with a view to British interests, and it is squeezed as a lemon is squeezed to subserve those interests solely. The Hindoo has no voice in the making of the laws which he must obey or of saying anything about how he shall be taxed; the British officials make the laws, levy the taxes and collect them. The Indian Government permits the Hindoo to worship his idols in peace as long as he pays his taxes; the Juggernaut worship, involving the sacrifice of human lives, was permitted as long as the taxes were promptly paid. If the latter were not paid he must go to jail. While Britain's

government in the eighteenth century and well on into the nineteenth was forcing Protestantism upon Irish and British Catholics, it was studiously liberal towards the followers of Mahommed and Buddha and the other religious sects of India.

The first British officials with their numerous European followers in India seem to have paid very little regard to the observances of their own religion, if they can be said to have had any. A well-known English writer and minister of the Established Church, Dr. Close, the dean of Carlisle, in his work written in 1858, informs us that "more than half a century elapsed from the first appearance of the British in India before they thought of erecting a church for themselves." And Dr. Close makes the somewhat startling assertion regarding the attitude of the British rulers in that great dependency towards Christianity that "of the government of India it may be truly affirmed and fully established by circumstantial evidence that its whole weight, influence and authority has been directed against the progress of Christianity among the heathen." And he adduces abundant testimony in his book to prove that assertion. He shows that American Protestant missionaries in 1812 were driven out from Calcutta to Bombay, where they were imprisoned, and that when they escaped in a coasting vessel they were pursued, retaken and confined to the fort. And that as late as 1813 not a single missionary would be permitted to go to India in a British ship, and that it had become a definite rule of the British to permit no attempt to convert the natives and that that rule was rigidly maintained as long as possible. Not only maintained, but a law was made in 1814 by the governing authority, by virtue of which native Christians were excluded from holding any office of responsibility under the British. A host of witnesses, Protestant and Catholic, bear testimony to the anti-Christian attitude of British rule which was maintained exclusively to subserve the material welfare, first of the East India Company and its retainers, and afterwards of the British people themselves.

Referring to the personal example shown by the British garrison and officials to the Hindoos, Dr. Wolff, in the narrative of his travels there, informs us that "a well-known Protestant missionary called upon the celebrated Hindoo potentate, Runjeet Singh, at his palace in Lahore about half a century ago to have a conversation about religious and political matters, and in the course of the conversation the Hindoo Prince said to the missionary: 'You say you travel about for the sake of religion; why, then, do you not preach to the English in Hindostan, who have no religion at all?' And when the missionary related that conversation to Lord William Bentinck, the British Governor General, the latter observed: 'This is, alas! the

opinion of all the natives over India.'" The evil example of the whole British establishment in India is testified to by a multitude of unimpeachable witnesses.

From this it may be readily seen that the leading Protestant nation of the world not only did not convert or try to convert to Christianity any portion of the vast population of that great Indian Empire, but that it potentially threw serious obstacles in the way of their conversion even by Protestant missionaries, some of whom were undoubtedly very zealous and sincere men. Yet the British sovereign on being crowned takes a solemn oath to maintain "The laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel and the Protestant religion as it is established by law."

Now let us glance briefly at the operations of the Protestant missionaries in that country. Dutch and German Protestant clergymen were first on the ground, having entered by the way of the Dutch trading settlements. The harvest that followed their labors, according to their own showing, amounted to practically nothing. Toward the close of the eighteenth century the English Church, through its "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," employed some German and Danish Lutheran ministers to introduce Protestantism among the natives. A most singular selection truly this was, inasmuch as the English Church regarded the tenets of Lutheranism as downright heresy and Lutheran ministers as mere laymen who were engaged in the propagation of heretical views. But the clergymen of the Established Church could not be induced to volunteer for Christ's service in that torrid and deadly climate, and hence the zealous Lutherans were commissioned to disseminate doctrines that the English Church reprobated. A Protestant author who traveled extensively in India, Mr. Kaye, in his work, "Christianity in India," referring to the situation at the close of the eighteenth century, informs us that there was urgent need for earnest work there, because "up to that time Protestant efforts had resulted in small progress in the country." He adds that "some conversions had been made, but, alas! some of these were entirely in the wrong direction," a statement which he explains by pointing out that some of the English residents—Protestants, of course—had embraced Mahommedanism, while others, including the son of Sir Heneage Finch, had become Catholics. Strange spectacle. Those who became Catholics were virtually entering the Church in the catacombs in India at that time, because the Catholic Church was most rigorously proscribed by the Indian Government, which allowed perfect liberty to the Mahommedan and Brahmin worships. Even the very soldiers in the ranks of the army must be non-Catholics. No Catholics could be admitted to serve even as privates—as food for powder. In 1769 a resolution offered in the British Par-

liament to give authority to the East India Company to enlist Catholic recruits for service in India was defeated by an overwhelming majority. And at the same time no Catholics were eligible for admission into the British regular army.

Yet we perceive the marvelous fact that the Gospel of the Crucified One which had been preached by Saint Francis Xavier and his companions two hundred and fifty years before had not only taken root in that country, but that it had gained adherents within the shadow of British proscription and dire peril. How perilous it was to receive converts by the proscribed Catholic clergymen who attended the Indian missions at that time is referred to in his book by the Rev. Mr. Anderson, one of the Indian army chaplains, a Protestant, of course, who says that the government grew alarmed "at the progress of Romanism, and they resolved to enforce against its professors the penal statute, Twenty-third of Elizabeth, Chapter I.; and having discovered that one John da Gloria, a Portuguese priest, had baptized Matthew, son of Lieutenant Thorpe, deceased, they arrested him on a charge of high treason for procuring a person to be reconciled to the Pope."

Quite an inflow of Protestant missionaries from various countries poured into India towards the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Protestant zeal was then at its height; there was at that time a stalwart dogmatic Protestantism resting on the Bible, without question or doubt of its inspiration, animated by a burning desire to convert the heathen to membership in some one of the sects and thus save him from the errors of paganism if not the worse errors of Rome. Money was contributed without stint to pay liberal salaries and liberal expenses to male and female evangelizers. Bibles by the million were printed in the vernacular and distributed broadcast among the natives. Glowing reports were made by the evangelizers of that time of many conversions partly made and of several real conversions. It would appear from reading these reports that the sun of Christianity was arising in glory and splendor over the whole of Hindostan. The Church of England sent out its first bishop, a gentleman named Middleton, to administer affairs in its behalf. He arrived in 1814, accompanied by his wife and servants. As money was of little account compared with the salvation of souls, Bishop Middleton received for his spiritual exertions the modest sum of $25,000 a year, and each of his two archdeacons received $10,000 a year. When the bishop and his wife set out on his spiritual tours he was granted an additional liberal allowance for traveling expenses. All of which and many other interesting things concerning the bishop and his labors are told at considerable length by his biographer, a Protestant clergyman, Rev. C. W. Le Bas.

Mr. Le Bas says the bishop was much distressed at the condition in which he found things; that the native converts were few and they were divided, if not distracted, by the rival preachers of the Wesleyan, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, American Puritans and other sects. He further describes the effect of this rivalry upon the natives by saying: "Next to the suspicion that the Europeans are generally destitute of all real religion, the grand impediment the Gospel has to contend with among idolaters arises from the multiplicity of shapes under which our visible religion presents itself to their notice. Their observation uniformly is that they should think much better of Christianity if there were not quite so many different kinds of it."

From the time of Bishop Middleton to the present day money has been poured into the Protestant missionary field of India in great abundance, but it has disappeared as if thrown into a quicksand without leaving any substantial trace behind. Conversions have been reported by the missionaries, but independent observers, both Catholic and Protestant, agree in stating that no substantial gain has been made by them. British Government officials of high standing admit that to be the fact. Some Protestant missionaries themselves admit it. In times of famine some children have been secured by the missionaries and have been brought up as Protestants, but they generally relapse to their former worship or become atheists. Famine converts are very seldom reliable, as was exemplified by the failure of Protestant efforts to seduce the Irish from their ancient faith in the great famine of 1846-9. In a word, the past one hundred and fifty years of strenuous Protestant missionary effort in India has failed. Many writers assure us that the evangelizers have succeeded in unsettling the Hindoo's faith in his own religion, making of him an unbeliever and scoffer of all religions.

What has been said in reference to the Protestant propaganda in British India can also be stated of those portions of the country that came under the control of the Dutch and Danes. On the other hand, it may be remarked, and with significance, that the Gospel seed sown by Xavier and tended by his successors has found a lodgement in that arid soil and has struck root deeply, despite the enmity of the evil one exemplified by the persecutions to which Catholic missionaries, more especially the Jesuits, have been subjected, not only by the Dutch and British rulers, but by the Portuguese and French Governments when the latter were controlled by infidels.

A similar state of things obtains in Ceylon, Borneo and the Straits Settlements, where the Catholic missions hold the field under Protestant governments, and Protestant efforts at conversion have substantially failed.

Let us now glance at the work of England and Protestant missionaries in Australasia. The great continent of Australia up to about one hundred and fifty years ago was inhabited only by uncivilized aborigines, and so also were the large islands of New Zealand and Tasmania and other groups of islands off the coast. All these became subject to the rule of England, and Protestant missionaries for a long time had the field exclusively to themselves. Here certainly was virgin soil upon which to extend the blessings of Protestant civilization to an inferior race. The operation of the penal laws against Catholicism excluded Catholic effort. But what has been the result? Simply this: the natives have been slaughtered without remorse or compunction; they have been exterminated by the so-called superior race. One of the most tragic chapters of modern history is that written on Australasian soil in the blood of the native race. We are told by an English Protestant writer, Mr. George T. Loyd, who lived in that country thirty-three years, that when the first English settlers arrived in the great island of Tasmania the natives evinced the most friendly disposition towards them, but the native confidence was betrayed and they were slaughtered indiscriminately under the direction of the colonial authorities on one pretext or another. Military expeditions were fitted out to exterminate them *en masse*, as if they were wild beasts, and at length, about forty years ago, the last native of Tasmania had disappeared.

It took only the short period of twenty years to carry out the extermination of the natives of Tasmania. And such also has been substantially the fate of the whole native race on the Australian continent and in New Zealand. The black fellows of the continent and the heroic Maories of New Zealand have been wiped out without mercy or pity. There was no Las Casas on hand among the Protestant missionaries to denounce the murderous work of the civil rulers and their followers before England's Queen and Parliament. On the contrary, quite a number of the very missionaries who were there ostensibly to convert the natives to Protestantism were more interested in securing for themselves the lands of the native chiefs for nominal considerations. Instead of any effort on the part of these evangelizers to arouse the House of Commons to the bloody holocaust of the natives by the colonists, they were more interested in securing the spoils, as was succinctly shown by an investigation into their conduct by the House of Commons, which obliged quite a number of them to disgorge their ill-gotten wealth.

Under the domination of Britain and the evangelical work of the Protestant missionary the aboriginal race in that country is gone. But why? That is the question which forces itself upon the attention of every student of history in these days when our ears are as-

sailed and insulted by un-Catholic references of politician and preacher to superior and inferior races.

Let us now glance briefly, as we necessarily must within the limits of a magazine article, at the picture presented by China, which has not yet become subordinate to the so-called world powers, but seems likely in a short time to become so. The first substantial effort to introduce the Christian Gospel to the Chinese was put forth a little over three hundred years ago by the self-sacrificing fathers of the Company of Jesus. These spiritual athletes, unaccompanied by armed battalions and unsupported by warships, entered the Flowery Kingdom to win souls to Christ after the manner of the fishermen who were first commissioned. They were received with respect by the learned and high officials of the Chinese Empire and listened to with attention by the masses to whom they expounded the doctrine of the brotherhood of the whole human race. They prosecuted their mission with such remarkable success that it may be accurately estimated that at the end of the first hundred years of their labors there were about as many native converts in China as there are at the present hour, or in the neighborhood of about 1,000,000 souls. It would be a turning aside from the object in view to trace the history of Christian effort in that country and point out a probable reason—as it appears to the natural eye—why the effort has not been crowned with a greater measure of success. Suffice it to say here that since the commercial nations, these exemplars of Western civilization, have undertaken to force their manufactured products and other things upon the Chinese the latter have viewed with suspicion and distrust the aims and objects of the former, and unfortunately the religion which they professed as well.

And certainly the people of China had good reason to doubt the nobility of purpose and the morality of a Christian nation like England, who made war upon them to compel them to allow opium to be sold in their markets. So also they might doubt the morality of France when it seized the vast province of Tonkin and aided England in imposing the blessings of Western civilization by force upon them. Or the seizure of the province of Shantung by Germany a few years ago as an indemnity for the murder of some German Catholic missionaries, while at the same time certain orders of Catholic priests were declared by German law to be illegal societies. The whole course of the Western powers was not calculated to inspire the natives with a high regard for their code of public morality as exemplified by their policy of grab and spoliation.

In fact, the course pursued by the Christian nations in the East has thrown serious obstacles in the way of converting the pagans. Crooked diplomacy, quick-firing guns and armored ships of war

were not the weapons of the Crucified One. It is hardly an extravagant flight of the imagination to surmise that had the struggle in China between paganism and Christianity, which was substantially opened by the Jesuits at the close of the sixteenth century, continued upon the lines of the first hundred years, Christianity would be dominant in that vast territory to-day. But, alas! it was not so continued. The diabolical powers, reinforced by the cupidity and greed of professing Christians and their governments, have rendered the task of bringing those hundreds of millions of people with their ancient civilization under the banner of the Cross a work of extreme difficulty.

There is little doubt, however, that the influence of Protestantism represented by its missionaries has had a most deleterious influence against their conversion. It could not be otherwise in the nature of things. Presenting themselves before a civilized community like the Chinese, many of whom are highly educated men, professing an ancient religion, retaining many of the primary truths of the patriarchal days, and each missionary claiming to preach the Gospel of Christ, but each sectarian preaching a different version of that Gospel, is it to be wondered at that a strong presumption should arise in the mind of an intelligent or even an ignorant heathen against the divine origin of such a Gospel, about which its teachers themselves cannot agree? Then, also, in all the ancient religious systems of the East mortification of the flesh, penance and chastity are recognized as marks of exalted manhood, while Protestantism, through its missionaries, denies their efficacy and presents itself to the heathen mind as of the earth, earthy. While the sects have been doing a certain good work in the establishing of schools among the Chinese, as they have been doing in Hindostan and elsewhere, yet it is the general consensus of opinion among the great majority of independent onlookers that it has not succeeded in gaining any substantial foothold among the people. The Catholic missionary has achieved a measure of success in the face of great obstacles, as the missions scattered all over the country show. Protestant writers bear witness to the far-reaching influence of the latter. One of these, a well-known writer, Mr. Henry Norman, M. P., who has traveled extensively in China, recently says: "A distinction must be made between Catholic and Protestant missionaries. The former receive high recognition from natives and foreigners, and the result of their labors is more encouraging. They have established themselves in China, once for all, adopting the costume and attitude of mind of the people and managing to live on moderate resources; they are the living expression of those qualities which are thought both in the East and in the West attributes as essentials to the

priesthood: poverty, chastity and obedience. . . . Moreover, they are subject to a single authority, preach and practice one doctrine. I certainly need not explain that I am not prejudiced in favor of the Catholic propaganda; but I should be disloyal to both did I not acknowledge the deep respect which I feel both for the character and work of the many Catholic missionaries whom I met in China."

During the recent outbreak of the Boxers, which had its origin in deep-seated antipathy to foreigners and the religion which they profess, the Catholic priests, foreign or native born, stood by their flocks, ministering to them that their faith might not fail in the presence of death, while the Protestant shepherds, wherever the roads to the rear remained open, fled with their wives and families to a place of safety. Reports of the trials and persecutions and martyrdom of the Chinese Catholics remind one of the constancy and fidelity of the early Church in Rome, Corinth and Damascus. It seems quite probable that the partition of China among the physically strong powers of the world is close at hand. It may be expected that when that scheme of national plunder is consummated the spoliation of the inhabitants by the new rulers will begin. The population of China, like that of India, is too dense to be wiped out. Fiscal policies, exclusive commercial control will accomplish the purpose of the conquerors.

In Africa, as in Australasia, in the islands of the Pacific, as on the North American Continent, wherever Protestant authority has become predominant, the uncivilized heathen has already been exterminated or is rapidly undergoing that process. Such is the simple fact illustrated on every hand by the history of Protestant contact with every such community. Protestantism in its effect upon them has been as a devastating pestilence. On the other hand, where Catholic nations have controlled the uncivilized heathen the reverse has invariably been the case. In the Philippines, in the Gambier and Ladrone Islands, in the Catholic settlements dominating African tribes, as well as on the great continent of South America, the native peoples have been steadily advancing in civilization as well as materially increasing in population. This statement is amply supported by indisputable testimony, so that it may be taken as an invariable law of Catholic domination over such communities.

The limits of this article are necessarily too brief to permit our entering into details respecting the testimony on every hand. Let us take as an instance one of the new possessions added to the United States—the Hawaiian Islands. Protestantism for many years, since 1820, held undisputed sway there. The natives were active, robust, docile, teachable, and they welcomed the first Protestant mission-

aries who came among them with open arms. It was not until several years later that Catholic missionaries were suffered to work among them, the first Catholic priests who attempted to do so being forcibly expelled. The teachings of the various sects were expounded in those islands with perfect freedom, but the results seem to have had as fatal an effect as the angel of death over the host of Sennacherib. It was as if the plague had secured a permanent lodgement upon the islands. Continuously and rapidly the people have been dying out. Rev. Gustavus Hines, one of the American Protestant missionaries, writing in 1851 of the frightful loss of life among the natives, says: "The astonishing rapidity of the decrease of the Hawaiian population is perhaps without a parallel in the history of nations. . . . In the course of four successive years it diminished by 21,730." It may be observed that that frightful decline has continued to the present hour, so that only a small remnant of the native race is now left.

It is, however, here upon the American hemisphere that we can view most clearly the contrast afforded by the Protestant and Catholic contacts with partially or wholly uncivilized communities. After French authority was ousted on the North American continent about the middle of the eighteenth century, the vast majority of the North American continent became subject to Protestant England, while upon the South American continent Spain and Portugal, both Catholic countries, were the dominant powers. Let us take a snap-shot glance at the story as told in history. First as to North America. The pages of Parkman and the chronicle of the Jesuit Relations tell us of the trials, sacrifices and martyrdoms of the Jesuit apostles, who plunged into the primeval wilderness armed only with breviary and cross to win the souls of the fierce tribes for Christ. And emulating the sons of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, the followers of Saint Francis were on hand. Bancroft says that "The first permanent efforts of French enterprise in colonizing America preceded any permanent English settlement north of the Potomac. Years before the Pilgrims anchored within Cape Cod the Roman Church had been planted by missionaries from France in the eastern moiety of Maine; and Le Caron, an unambitious Franciscan, had penetrated the land of the Mohawks, had passed to the north in the hunting grounds of the Wyandots, and, bound by his vows to the life of a beggar, had, on foot or paddling a bark canoe, gone onward and still onward, taking alms of the savages, till he reached the rivers of Lake Huron. While Quebec contained scarce fifty inhabitants, priests of the Franciscan order—Le Caron, Viel, Sagard—had labored for years as missionaries in Upper Canada or made their way to the neutral Huron tribe that dwelt on the waters of the Niagara."

It is of value to observe here that Mr. Bancroft's reference to the work of these missionaries as mere efforts of French enterprise to found French colonies in America is incorrect. These missionaries were engaged in winning heathen colonies for Christ. It may be worth while also to ask the reader to fix his attention upon the fact that these missionaries were unaccompanied by armed battalions. À faraway faint glimpse of their trials, struggles and death may be had in the written record, but the full story is known only to the Master Who inspired them. While they had crossed the seas in French ships and the majority were subjects of the King of France, they were more than Frenchmen, and the commission which they held, bearing date of 1600 years before, was a more exalted one than any issued by any French monarch or earthly potentate. Their success was large and the influence of their lives and death yet lives among the Catholic Indians of Canada and the Northwest.

They had powerful evil influences to contend with other than the untamed ferocity of the savages. At times they experienced the hostility of the French Government when controlled by atheists, and they always had to encounter the enmity of the English Protestant colonies upon the Atlantic seaboard. While the Jesuits and Franciscans were engaged in establishing mission chapels throughout the wilderness, the Protestant colonists were occupied in establishing trading posts on the edge of the wilderness in which to barter rum and tobacco for peltries and skins with the Indians. On the one side the desire was to extend the gospel; on the other to extend trade. The Puritan colony of Massachusetts Bay enacted a penal statute as early as 1647 which provided for the exclusion of Catholic priests from its jurisdiction. The statute is headed "Jesuites;" it provides condign punishment for any priest "devoted to the religion and court of Room (Rome)," and declares that if he "be taken the second time within this jurisdiction, upon lawful tryal and conviction he shall be put to death." Such was the attitude generally of the Protestant colonists towards Catholic missionaries, and such it has continued to be until within a comparatively recent period. Their attitude towards the aborigines may be gathered from the laws enacted in reference to them. In 1675 the following law was passed by the Massachusetts Bay Colony: "Ordered by the Court, that whosoever shall shoot off any gun on any unnecessary occasion, or at any game whatsoever, except at an Indian or a wolf, shall forfeit five shillings for every such shot, till further liberty shall be given."

Another law passed by the General Court held at Boston on February 21, 1675, is as follows: "Upon consideration of many skulking

Indians about our plantations, doing much mischief and damage, and a probable way for their surprisal is by scouting in small parties; for encouragement thereof;—This Court doth order that every person or persons that shall surprise, slay, or bring in prisoner any such Indian on the south side of Pascataqua River, he or they shall be allowed three pounds per head." . . . And Mr. Bancroft in his history of the United States informs us that "The Legislature of Massachusetts by resolution in July, 1722, declared the Eastern Indians to be traitors and robbers; and while troops were raised for the war, offered private men for each Indian's scalp—at first a bounty of fifteen pounds, and afterward of a hundred."

The attitude of the Puritan colony toward the aborigines and the men who were endeavoring to civilize them is strikingly shown by the wanton destruction of the flourishing Jesuit mission at Norridgewock, in the wilds of Maine, and the murder of the missionary and many of his people. Bancroft recites the story in the following words: "At Norridgewock, on the banks of the Kennebec, Sebastian Rasles, for more than a quarter of a century the companion and instructor of savages, had gathered a flourishing village round the church, which, rising in the desert, made some pretensions to magnificence. Severely ascetic, using no wine, and little food except pounded maize, a rigorous observer of the days of Lent, he built his own cabin, tilled his own garden, drew for himself wood and water, prepared his own hominy, and, distributing all that he received, gave an example of religious poverty. Himself a painter, he adorned the humble walls of his church with pictures. There he gave instruction almost daily. Following his pupils to their wigwams, he tempered the spirit of devotion with familiar conversation and innocent gayety, winning the mastery over their souls by his powers of persuasion. He had trained a band of forty young savages, arrayed in cassock and surplice, to assist in the service and chant the hymns of the Church; and their public processions attracted a concourse of red men. Two chapels were built near the village, and before them the hunter muttered his prayers on his way to the river or the woods. When the tribe descended to the seaside, in the season of wild fowl, they were followed by Rasles; and on some islet a chapel of bark was quickly consecrated. In 1717 the Government of Massachusetts attempted in turn to establish a mission; and its minister made a mocking of Purgatory and the invocation of saints, of the Cross and the Rosary. 'My Christians,' retorted Rasles, 'believe the truths of the Catholic faith, but are not skilful disputants,' and he prepared a defense of the Roman Church. . . .

"The expedition to Penobscot in 1723 was under public auspices. After five days' march through the woods, Westbrooke, with his

company, came upon the Indian settlement that was probably above Bangor, at Old Town. He found a fort seventy yards long and fifty in breadth, well protected by stockades, fourteen feet high, inclosing twenty-three houses regularly built. On the south side near at hand was the chapel, sixty feet long and thirty wide, well and handsomely furnished within and without; and south of this stood the 'friar's dwelling house.' The invaders arrived there on the 9th of March, 1723, at six in the evening. That night they set fire to the village, and by sunrise next morning every building was in ashes. Twice it was attempted to capture Rasles. At last, on the 23d of August, 1724, a party from New England had reached Norridgewock, unperceived, till they discharged their guns at the cabins. There were about fifty warriors in the place. They seized their arms and marched forth tumultuously to protect the flight of their wives and children and old men. Rasles, roused to the danger by their clamors, went forward to save his flock by drawing down upon himself the attention of the assailants, and his hope was not vain. Meantime the savages fled to the river, which they passed by wading and swimming, while the English pillaged the cabins and the church, and then set them on fire. After the retreat of the invaders, the red men returned to nurse their wounded and inter their dead. They buried Rasles beneath the spot where he used to stand before the altar."

And then Mr. Bancroft adds: "Influence by commerce took the place of influence by religion and English trading houses supplanted French missions." Such was the spirit which seems to have animated the Protestant colonists of North America in their dealings with the natives. The conversion of the Indians seems to have been of secondary importance compared with acquiring possession of title to the lands or the opportunity of driving shrewd bargains with them for the fruits of the chase. It is true that some of the Puritan clergymen like John Eliott showed considerable zeal in endeavoring to convert the sadly demoralized remnants of the aborigines in the vicinity of Massachusetts Bay and of Hartford, on the Connecticut River, but it is likewise certain that the efforts of such men proved a dismal failure. There seemed to be something lacking, a want of some essential element in their ministrations to insure success. The Indian and wolf, coupled together in the phraseology of the old Puritan statute already quoted, disappeared simultaneously; the advance of the Protestant colonists into the wilderness meant the extermination of both. Such in brief is the story of the contact of Protestantism with the aborigines of the North American continent. In a few more years when the last red man will have been gathered to his fathers, a monument might be erected over his re-

mains bearing this epitaph: "Here lies the last representative of the American Indian; done to death by Protestantism."

The United States is referred to as a Protestant or non-Catholic country because its beginnings were dominated by Protestants; they have in a great measure shaped its history; it was their impact upon and dealings with the unfortunate Indians that have proved so disastrous to the latter. The Catholic population has not been sufficiently large and united to exercise much of a saving influence in the body politic in reference to the Indians, as has been quite recently shown by the governmental treatment of the Catholic Indian schools and in various other respects. In addition to this, some American Catholics seem to have become more or less infected with pernicious ideas respecting so-called inferior races through inhaling the Protestant atmosphere surrounding them.

The last red man will soon disappear among us, but we have the problem of the black man before us for solution. The Negro we formerly held in a state of absolute subjection, but he was liberated thirty-six or thirty-seven years ago, not through any act of grace on our part, but because it was considered necessary as a war measure to save the integrity of the Union. Although the Negro has been declared politically free by the organic law of the nation, he has been, and he is regarded to-day by a great majority of the people, North as well as South, as an inferior being to the white man. His natural rights have been trampled upon by individuals and mobs; he has been denied the protection of the laws in many cases; his prospect in the future is exceedingly dark and gloomy. The color line is rigidly drawn between black and white.

Many if not all the Southern States where Negro slavery formerly existed have enacted laws prohibiting the intermarriage of black and white people and imposing penalties on clergymen who perform the marriage ceremony between them. Surely these enactments are in contravention of natural law, if not the law of God. The State of Georgia, or any other State, has no more right to prohibit or to declare invalid the marriage of a red, black or brown skinned person to a white person than it has to prohibit red-headed men and black-haired women from entering into the marriage relation. Certainly these laws and the insensate widespread racial prejudice of which they are but an expression are as opposite to Catholic thought and teaching as is the North from the South Pole. "Of one blood God hath made all mankind." Down through the ages that blessed evangel has come. It was heard by master and slave in the catacombs of Rome; it was testified to by both on the sands of the Flavian amphitheatre; it has been enunciated on the altars and from the pulpits of gorgeous Cathedrals; it has been an-

nounced in dim forest aisles on the banks of the Parana and Amazon and in the interior of Africa; on the burning sands of Hindostan, where paganism recognizes caste and privilege, the lowly pariah has heard it, and it will be heard with a fuller and more pregnant meaning when all these shameful statutes and racial prejudices against any of God's creatures are abolished.

And now that we have glanced at the effect of Protestant domination over weak races on the North American continent, let us take a glimpse at the effect of Catholicism upon similar races in South America. Macaulay says the conquest of Mexico by Cortes was an event almost similar to the conquest of the Mogul power in India by Clive. The historian draws a comparison between the events; but there the comparison ends. The characters of the Spanish and English conquerors were as dissimilar as the results which have flown from their action. Cortes was an upright, honorable gentleman and an able soldier; Clive was an unscrupulous, dishonorable man, a corruptionist and forger, but an able soldier. Each conquered an extensive territory for his sovereign. That conquered by Cortes has been advancing in population and prosperity and is now enjoying the blessings of republican government, while the territory conquered by Clive has been held in subjection by a standing army and it is scourged with periodical famines—the famine now ending having cost, according to some estimates, over a million of lives. Cortes was a crusader; Clive was an adventurous soldier, who enriched himself at the expense of his employers and of his victims. Mr. Prescott in his "Conquest of Mexico" says: "There can be no doubt that Cortes, with every man in his army, felt he was engaged in a holy crusade; and that independently of personal considerations he could not serve heaven better than by planting the cross on the blood-stained towers of the heathen metropolis."

The primary motive of the Spanish conquerors was the subjugation of the aborigines to the yoke of Christianity. When Montezuma was overthrown the first object of the victor was the reclamation of the natives from their idol worship. The loathsome religious rites in which they indulged and their abominable human sacrifices were summarily suppressed. Father Diaz, Gomara and Olmedo, who accompanied the expedition directed by Cortes, were preaching incessantly, explaining the truths of Christianity to the natives, and with such wondrous effect that multitudes were converted and were baptized.

When the conquest of practically the whole continent was secured and the Spanish or Portuguese authority was firmly established the real work of the missionary began. The Jesuit, Dominican and Franciscan set forth with burning zeal into the wilderness to Chris-

tianize and humanize the heathen tribes, some of whom were unspeakably ferocious and practiced cannibalism. Chili, Paraguay, Peru, Guatemala, Central America were soon invaded by the soldiers of the Cross, men as steadfast as St. Stephen, zealous as St. Paul and enthusiastic as St. Peter. The disciplined soldiery of Spain and Portugal could not penetrate into the interior of the country, except they went in large bodies; but the missionaries in ones and twos could and did. There was no hesitation, no faltering among these apostles of the South American continent. No difficulties, however great, daunted them. They flung worldly prudence and wisdom to the winds, and made fools of themselves for the sake of Christ's Kingdom. By ones and twos these cultured and tenderly nurtured Christian gentlemen entered the forest fastnesses to combat the Evil One and rescue the perishing native. They were unable to perceive any inferior race in the wilderness, save such as were in bondage to Satan. They scaled every mountain side, crossed every river to bring the tidings of the Son of God to every tribe.

Here is a description of the Jesuit Anchieta setting forth on his mission: "Barefooted, with no other garment than his cassock, his crucifix around his neck, the pilgrim staff and breviary in his hand and his shoulders laden with the furniture requisite for an altar, Anchieta advanced into the interior of the country; he penetrated virgin forests, swam across streams, climbed the roughest mountains, plunged into the solitude of the plains, confronted savage beasts and abandoned himself entirely to the care of Providence. . . . Sometimes when the savages rejected his first overtures he threw himself at their knees, bathing them with his tears, pressing them to his heart and striving to gain their confidence by every demonstration of love. He made himself their servant and studied their caprices like a slave."

How strangely this description of the Jesuit reads by way of contrast with that of the Puritan minister Stone, who accompanied the Massachusetts Puritans on their mission to exterminate the Pequod Indians. And Anchieta was only one out of thousands such as he who in a similar manner undertook and eventually wrought out the conversion of the aborigines on the Southern continent. This, too, despite the fact that when the Governments of Spain and Portugal came under the control of atheists such as Aranda in Spain and Pombal in Portugal, the efforts of these self-sacrificing men were stopped and the missionaries themselves for a long period of years treated as criminals. But notwithstanding every obstacle thrown in their way by corrupt Spanish and Portuguese officials, the simple fact remains that they did conquer South America for Christianity

with just such men as the Jesuit Anchieta and through just such means. The aborigines of the Southern continent, like the natives of the Philippine Islands, have been Christianized and consequently civilized in just that way.

And that is only a portion of the story. The significant point is that the aborigines of the South American continent have been steadily increasing in numbers and advancing in prosperity and influence since their conversion. Peru, Mexico, indeed almost all, if not all the South American countries have had as their chief magistrates full-blooded natives. There is no color line drawn upon the South American continent among the people. And that is not all. Negro slavery at one time obtained throughout that country. But there it did not present the most abhorrent features which it bore in the slave holding districts of the North American continent. The influence of the Catholic Church continually exerted for generations served to ameliorate the sad condition of the slave under the civil rule of Catholics. He could get married and his marriage was as indissoluble as the marriage of the master. The law of every Catholic country recognized that important fact, and further it was a provision of law in most if not all of the South American countries that the slave husband and wife could not be sold apart to different masters, but must be transferred together, and that the slave child could not be sold from the mother until it had reached a specified age. The gracious and yet stern unyielding influence of the Church in defense of the family was as a shield for the slave family in the one case; where that influence was wanting the slave was regarded as a mere chattel, a thing without natural rights, absolutely the property of the master.

Slavery no longer exists in South America; black, white and red are equal before the law. The freedom of the black race was accomplished, too, without any serious convulsion such as our Civil War. There is no color line drawn between the races in any South American country. Every person, whatever the color of the skin, is valued according to personal character. There are no "Jim Crow" cars, nor race churches, nor "nigger galleries" in theatre or other places of public amusement, nor is there any legal prohibition of marriage on account of color or race over the broad expanse of the continent. The saintly men who won the natives for Christ did their work well; they did it in the spirit of the Master whose missionaries they were.

This article has grown somewhat lengthy, but the subject is a grave one at the present moment, when the pagan concept respecting so-called inferior races is dinned into our ears by politician and preacher. It would indeed require a great volume to do even scanty

justice to the men who have brought pagan communities within the pale of Christian civilization.

To the student of history these two considerations must arise from the facts pointed out:

1. Is it not a very remarkable fact that Protestant colonization has been attended everywhere among uncivilized aborigines by their degradation and eventual destruction?

2. Is it not an equally remarkable fact that Catholic colonization has been attended everywhere with the civilization and advancement of the natives, notwithstanding serious obstacles thrown in the way of Catholic missionaries by pseudo Catholic authorities who at times wielded the civil power?

Some Protestant writers have attempted to explain why the American people have failed with Indian and Negro. They ascribe it to what they term the masterful spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race, which they allege is so constituted that it cannot recognize the equality of weak peoples. Pride of race, we are told, is the cause. But this explanation boldly assumes that the population of the United States is chiefly of British origin or extraction, while the contrary is the fact, a great majority of the American people being of other than of British origin or extraction. The Anglo-Saxon race myth is but a lame excuse for a valid explanation. Surely the masterful Spaniard in whose veins coursed the undiluted blood of Castile and Arragon entertained as high a pride of race as the conglomerate population of the United States, of which Europe, not England, is the mother country, and many of whom fled to escape the tooth of poverty or the grip of military service in their native land.

The true explanation of the remarkable contrast is that the spirit of the Catholic Church was on the one side, the spirit of commercialism and Protestantism animated the other. The Count De Maistre gave expression to the true explanation in these words: "Christianity is Catholicity, and Catholicity is Christianity; they are identical in every sense."

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THE TRUE CRITICAL TEST OF NATURAL SELECTION.

WE are all Darwinians now. The intention in this article is to inquire whether we may not be so in advance of the evidence.

We are well aware that there are many who try to make a distinction between evolution and Darwinism. There are many Catholic writers even who profess to be able to make such a distinction. They will tell us that though Darwinism may be false, evolution is still true. But we have yet failed to find any writer who professed to make such a distinction who was able to withstand the current for any length of time, and who did not find himself finally engulfed in the vortex of Darwinism itself. The fact is that there is no other form of evolution before the world at the present day that is worth a moment's notice. Even those who undertake to combat Darwinism are forced to take his doctrine of natural selection as the main and prime factor of evolution. There is, indeed, division in the school of evolution, but all the various divisions, with one insignificant exception, accept natural selection as primarily the basis of the doctrine. The various divisions in the school of evolution group themselves into three principal classes. First come the Neo-Darwinians —as Mr. Herbert Spencer has somewhat contemptuously styled them—and who are, as the same authority has said, more Darwinian than Darwin himself. To this school belong Professor Weismann and his followers. They endeavor to prove that natural selection is able to account for everything. This is the end of all their labors, the burden of all their controversies. Their new-fangled doctrines of Panmixia, of special determinants, of *plus* and *minus* variations have been all invented for the purpose of explaining away the difficulties of natural selection and answering the objections to it. Next in order comes the school of Mr. Herbert Spencer, who having partially renounced his allegiance to Darwin and natural selection, nevertheless still stoutly maintains that it, and it alone, can account for the major part of the facts, while maintaining that another portion of the facts can be accounted for only by the inheritability of functionally produced changes. The third division, of which Professor Henslow is one of the principal leaders, it is true, excludes natural selection altogether; but as the principle which they substitute in whole for it is the Lamarckian theory, which was laughed out of existence a century ago, the influence of the school carries but little weight. Hence we see that the Darwinian doctrine of natural selection still dominates the entire school of the Neo-Darwinians,

who still regard it, in a more or less modified form, as the sole factor in the production of all phenomena; while the school of Mr. Spencer admits that it has been at least the principal factor. Moreover, many of those who indulge in the luxury of "special views" on the subject of evolution make natural selection the basis or groundwork of their new theories. Hence we find that natural selection still occupies by far the largest place in the theory of evolution, and that were Darwinism, as it is called, subtracted from the doctrine, there would be little left worthy of attention. This being premised, we may proceed to an examination of the doctrine of natural selection itself.

Mr. Darwin's attempt in his famous work was, first, to show that species may be originated by natural selection; secondly, to show that natural causes are competent to select; and, thirdly, that, to express it generally, to natural selection as to a cause may be traced all the phenomena of species. Have forty odd years of trial borne out the truth of Mr. Darwin's principles? Let us see.

Lest we might be accused of injustice in dealing with the doctrine of Mr. Darwin by applying false methods of criticism, let us adopt the form employed by Mr. Huxley himself when he first dealt with the theory. Not even the most orthodox Darwinian can suspect a form of criticism emanating from such a source.

In his very first critique of the now famous doctrine Professor Huxley laid down three criteria to be applied as tests of its truth. They were, in his own words: "Is it satisfactorily proved, in fact, that species may be originated by selection? that there is such a thing as natural selection? that none of the phenomena exhibited by species are inconsistent with the origin of species in this way?"

With the first two criteria of Professor Huxley—Is it proved that species may be originated by selection? and is there such a thing as natural selection?—there is no fault to find. The third, however, must be peremptorily challenged. The consistency of the phenomena exhibited by species with the theory of natural selection would by no means amount to a proof of that theory. It might remove difficulties. It might show that the theory was probable, but it could never attain the dignity of a proof. History is full of instances in which, to all seeming, a given cause was quite consistent with all the effects, but which, nevertheless, proved not to be a *causa vera* at all. Whatever value, then, the third member of Professor Huxley's standard possesses is of a negative, not a positive nature. It smooths the way. It invites examination, even confidence; but it does not compel assent. With this weakness admitted, the third member even may be permitted to stand. In testing the hypothesis, however, Professor Huxley overlooked two points essential to a

true critical analysis, and without which the three he has used would be absolutely worthless. They are: First, does it explain all the facts? and, secondly, does it explain them better than any other hypothesis? With these necessary corrections and additions, the importance of which no one will deny, we may proceed to the examination of natural selection; first, however, recasting Professor Huxley's three in their logical order. The logical order would run thus: (1) Is there such a thing as natural selection? (2) Is it satisfactorily proven that species can be originated by it? (3) Is it consistent with all the facts? (4) Does it explain all the facts? (5) Does it explain them better than any other theory?

To the very first question: Is there such a thing as natural selection? evolutionists are, after forty years of inquiry, unable to give an affirmative answer. No one has ever seen it. No one dare affirm that it really exists. When Mr. Darwin first propounded his startling theory to the world, nearly half a century ago, he did not feel warranted in maintaining that natural selection actually existed. He undertook, indeed, to prove that it might, could, should exist; that, in fact, to meet the requirements of his theory it ought to exist; but he never mustered up sufficient courage to proclaim its actual existence. No one since his day professes to have discovered it. No one has held it up to the gaze of an admiring world and proclaimed loudly: "Eureka, I have found it." If we pass from Mr. Darwin to Professor Huxley matters do not mend much. Professor Huxley admitted candidly that "Mr. Darwin does not so much prove that natural selection does occur as that it must occur;" and his justification of Mr. Darwin on this point is nothing if not puerile. He says: "In fact, no other sort of demonstration is attainable," which is, to say the least, neither very reassuring nor very scientific. It is nothing but the old *circulus vitiosus,* which in this particular instance tells us that we know evolution takes place because there is such a thing as natural selection to cause it; and we know that there is such a thing as natural selection because the doctrine of evolution requires it. His further attempt to defend Mr. Darwin's position is simply a pleading of the baby act. He adds: "A race does not attract our attention in nature until it has, in all probability (mark the probability) existed for a considerable time, and then it is too late to inquire into the conditions of its origin." That is to say, in other words: perhaps natural selection exists, and perhaps we could prove that it does actually exist were it not for the wretched perversity of a probable condition which perhaps, too, has an existence, and which, perhaps, interferes with our demonstration. And so we leave the great master and the great coryphæus of the mighty movement without much light on the question. When we come to Mr.

Spencer we become bewildered and perplexed. It has been elsewhere seen that he is at one and the same time both the champion and the foe of natural selection, and this rather anomalous position leads him into strange contradictions. He blows hot and cold with the same mouth, asserting boldly on one page what he contradicts on the next. Yet, like all the other evolutionists, while he is ready to make an act of faith in natural selection when it suits his argument, and while he at times speaks of it with as much confidence as if it were an actual existence which he beheld before his eyes, like them, too, when he is placed upon the witness stand and forced to speak the language of reason and logic, he will tell us that "the facts at present assignable in direct proof that by progressive modifications races of organisms which are apparently distinct from antecedent races have descended from them, *are not sufficient;*" in other words, that natural selection has failed to establish proof of its existence. Again, in one of his fiercely-fought battles with the Neo-Darwinians, speaking of natural selection, he makes this contemptuous retort: "We might naturally suppose that their own hypothesis (of natural selection) is unassailable. Yet, strange to say, they admit that there is *no direct proof that any species has been established by natural selection.* The proof is *inferential* only." Which admission in the hands of an anti-evolutionist at once becomes a two-edged sword as destructive to the natural selection maintained by Mr. Spencer himself as to the form of it held by the Neo-Darwinians, and which shows clearly that, so far at least, no one dares maintain that there is direct proof for the existence of natural selection. And as if to throw as much discredit on the theory as possible, Mr. Spencer further adds: "When to uncertainties in the arguments supporting the hypothesis we add its inability to explain facts of cardinal significance, as proved above, there is, I think, ground for asserting that natural selection is less clearly shown to be a factor in the origin of species than is the inheritance of functionally wrought changes."

But if there be any proof of the existence of natural selection it certainly should be found among the Neo-Darwinians. Their doctrine demands it. They are uncompromising in their insistence on Darwinism. Their work has been, not to contradict the work of the great master or set up rival claimants, but to expound his teachings, mayhap to strengthen them when found weak. There, if anywhere, should be preserved in tablets of gold the proofs of its existence. And truly enough Professor Weismann, the leader of the school, comes nearest to furnishing us with traces of its existence. But, alas! even here the proof is merely negative, and even at that it is controverted by Mr. Spencer. In

endeavoring to account for the soldier-neuters which exist among certain kinds of ants, Professor Weismann says: "It is just because no other explanation is conceivable that it is *necessary for us to accept the principle of natural selection.*" Of course Mr. Spencer, with whom reasons for anything and everything are always as plentiful as blackberries, at once furnishes him a reason other than natural selection; but what concerns us here is neither the truth nor falsehood of the reasons of either scientist, but the extreme poverty of the strongest proof which Darwinism furnishes for the existence of its idol. But even this proof, such as it is, and contradicted, too, as it is by Mr. Spencer, is further discounted by a statement of Professor Weismann himself, in which he tells us "that it *is really very difficult to imagine the process of natural selection in its details, and to this day it is impossible to demonstrate it in any one point.*" And so after forty years of observation and analysis the existence of natural selection is just as shadowy as ever. The fact is that natural selection is the Mrs. Harris of the world of evolution. The illustrious Sairey Gamp found that mythical personage a very useful factor in all her achievements. Her name overawed Sairey's companions. An infinite fund of possibilities as well as counterfeit actualities, according to the veracious Mrs. Gamp, lay hidden in that entity which itself always seemed to court the background. To Mrs. Harris Sairey constantly appealed. Mrs. Harris' praises were continually on her lips. Mrs. Harris' picture was pointed out to every new-comer. But that much quoted individual never deigned to appear in the flesh. No one had ever seen her. She was known only to Mrs. Gamp. Mrs. Gamp's companions had longed for a glimpse of her beauty, possibly for a share of her patronage. And the immortal Betsey Prig, driven to desperation by having constantly dinned in her ears virtues and charms which were denied to her eyes, at last mutinied against this species of absentee despotism. In a fatal moment the baffled Betsey, unconsciously grasping the force of the axiom, "*De non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio,*" gave utterance to the awful words: "Bother Mrs. Harris!" And while Sairey Gamp stood stock still, speechless at the awful blasphemy, scarcely believing her own ears, the undismayed Betsey, as Mrs. Gamp's veracious historian avers, followed up with these memorable and tremendous words: "I don't believe there's no sich person." Once afterwards, and once only, did Mrs. Gamp venture to quote Mrs. Harris, but the effort was accompanied with such spasmodic action and gasping that it was never repeated. *Verbum sap.* Let Darwinians beware. The virtues, the powers, the charms of natural selection have been extolled before the world for well-nigh half a century. We have been asked to admire its picture —a rather dim one—in the workings of nature. Sairey Gamp's

mythical friend was never paraded before her friends with half the energy with which the followers of Darwin paraded natural selection. But it was always in speech. No mortal eye was ever permitted to see the wonder—not even unto this day. A long-suffering world may some day rise up against the established tyranny of the yoke and with as much justice as Betsey Prig rudely vociferate: "Bother natural selection!" and complete its downfall by further adding: "I don't believe there's no sich thing."

Indeed, the very existence of the supreme factor of evolution is to-day in doubt quite as much as it was half a century ago. If not, who has seen it at work? Where are the demonstrable evidences of it to be found? What traces of its existence has it left behind? Who will venture to assert that its existence has been proved as the existence of gravitation has been demonstrated? The most intrepid Darwinian dare not presume to proclaim its existence as an established fact. The strongest proof we have of it is precisely of the same calibre as the proof of the existence of Mrs. Harris. And what lends additional force in the matter is that in the case of special creation absence of proof of its existence was one of the primary, nay one of the palmary counts in the indictment against that doctrine. "No one ever saw a special creation," triumphantly proclaimed Mr. Spencer, and special creationism, blushing with shame and confusion, fled precipitately from the court. Should the special creationist undertake to turn the tables on the Darwinians at the present time, he could do so on at least equally logical grounds. Hence we see that on the first count natural selection totally fails.

When we come to the second: Can species be originated by natural selection? the answer is even more disastrous. After forty years of observation and experiment the answer of Professor Huxley still holds in all its force; nay, on account of the failure of so many experiments, in greater force than ever. Professor Huxley's answer was: "After much consideration . . . it is our clear conviction that, as the evidence stands, it is not absolutely proven that a group of animals, having all the characteristics exhibited by species in Nature, has ever been originated by selection, whether artificial or natural." This little rift within the lute, as he called it, has been widening. No evolutionist will claim that we are now nearer a satisfactory answer to this question than when Professor Huxley wrote. If proof be needed from living authorities, let those already given from Mr. Spencer suffice, inasmuch as they cover the ground as well for Mr. Spencer himself as for the Neo-Darwinians. "We might naturally suppose ," he says, "that their own hypothesis was unassailable. Yet, strange to say, they admit that there is no direct proof that *any species has been established by natural selection.* The proof

is *inferential* only." And he forthwith proceeds to demolish this "inferential proof," concluding with these words:

> "When to uncertainties in the arguments supporting the hypothesis we add its inability to explain facts of cardinal significance . . . there is, I think, ground for asserting that natural selection is less clearly shown to be a factor in the origination of species than is the inheritance of functionally-wrought changes."

These admissions would be quite sufficient, without going any further, to answer the question: Has species been originated by natural selection? but we shall add one more from Mr. Spencer. Commenting on an admission of Professor Weismann's, which we have already quoted from his article on "The All-Sufficiency of Natural Selection," and in which he says "that it is really very difficult to imagine this process of natural selection in its details; and to this day it is impossible to demonstrate it in any one point," Mr. Spencer very pertinently presses the matter home by inquiring: "But now if the sufficiency of an assigned cause cannot in any case be demonstrated, and if it is 'really very difficult to imagine' in what way it has produced its alleged effects, what becomes of the 'all-sufficiency' of the cause? How can its all-sufficiency be alleged when it can be neither demonstrated nor easily imagined? Evidently to fit Professor Weismann's argument, the title of the article should have been 'The Doubtful Sufficiency of Natural Selection.'"

This failure of natural selection to originate a new species, which we learn from the admissions of the evolutionists themselves, is equally demonstrated by observation and experiment. During almost half a century the doctrine has been before the world. During that time a body of active inquirers has been constantly engaged in seeking a verification of the theory by experiment and trial. Has it been shown during all that time that selection has developed a new species? To the stimulus of the glory awaiting scientific discovery was added the motive of profitable industry. Stock-raisers, horse and cattle-breeders, dog-fanciers, poultry-fanciers, agriculturists and florists, all lovers of variety, as well as experimentalists and naturalists by profession, have been eagerly industrious in the work of selective breeding. All the resources of nature have been reinforced by all the ingenuity of art. During all that period has a new species been originated by selection, either artificial or natural? In spite of protests to the contrary, the time has been ample for large results, especially in the case of short-lived specimens. While natural selection alone and unaided might be expected to show some results during that period, much might be looked for where nature was so strongly seconded by art. Yet while artificial selection has resulted in variations without number, nowhere can it be shown to have resulted in a new species.

But, we are told, it takes thousands of years—perhaps eons—to originate a new species. Such is the explanation which evolution from the outset imposed on a credulous generation. Such was the pretext of Darwin. Such has been the argument of Huxley. Such is the doctrine of Spencer. And we may add such is the generally accepted belief in the world of evolution to-day. If pressed further, the question is asked why such a long period should be required; the evolutionists have nothing to say, but change the subject as quickly as possible. To this wretched subterfuge, however, which has so long masqueraded in the guise of science, there may be given briefly three answers: First, that it is a wholly unwarrantable assumption, without stronger foundation than mere conjecture. Even so, it is an appeal *ad ignorantiam*, an awsome phrase to conceal our ignorance; whereas, the business of science—and indeed the especial duty of natural selection as proclaimed by its founders—is not to mystify, but to clear up and explain. In the second place, it is difficult to conceive how or why it should take thousands of years to effect a change of species in organisms which have only an ephemeral existence, since the required variation must take place during the brief existence of some one individual organism. And since between the species *ex qua* and the species *ad quam* countless myriads of the variants could have lived—and consequently countless myriads of variations have taken place—during the period of a century, or even within a period of forty years, it is somewhat singular that all the acute observations of science have not been able to detect the developing and developed species as well as all the intermediate variations which bridge the abyss between them. Indeed, the assumption that a long period of time is required to effect a change of species in the case of short-lived organisms is negatived by the parallelism which the Darwinians themselves insist upon tracing everywhere between the individual and the species. That it should require eons of time for the rise of a species whose individuals are characterized by shortness of life and rapid breeding is a curve in the parallels of phylogeny and ontogeny which Darwinians might find it difficult to explain. Again, in the third place, the slowness of the process of change of species is wholly at variance with the conception of natural selection itself. For according to the theory of natural selection, the rise of a new species is nothing more or less than a single stage in the process of variation. But why this single stage in the process of variation should require untold eons for its appearance, while all the other stages of variation occur instantly, is what no evolutionist has yet undertaken to explain. The fact is that no evidence having been forthcoming for the transmutation of species, evolutionists have

been obliged to seek a remedy for the difficulty somewhere, and that accordingly they have taken refuge in the abyss of time as being the least likely to betray them.[1] It appears, however, that even the abyss of time has, quite recently, come to be regarded as a not altogether secure refuge, and a new remedy for the difficulty has been discovered by no less a personage than Mr. Spencer himself. This last expedient highly deserves the foremost place among the curiosities of literature as well as the curiosities of science. It is nothing more or less than that the question of the origin of species—the question which to the scientific world has been for the last half century the question of questions, the question which during that period has been the be-all and the end-all of evolutional science—is now of no consequence whatever. It is "irrelevant." It "is beside the question." It is merely a "collateral" result. The proper answer to the question is to "ignore" it. The curious passage is too long to quote at length, so we shall condense it.

"The centre," he tells us, "around which the collision of arguments has taken place is the question of the formation of species. But here we see that this question is a *secondary* and, in a sense, *irrelevant* one. (Italics ours.) Whether organic forms "are or are not marked off by *specific traits*, and whether *they will or will not breed together, matters little.*" Even if they do, it is not an essential, "but a collateral result." . . . The biologic atmosphere has been *vitiated* by conceptions of past naturalists . . . who regarded the *traits which enabled them to mark off their specimens from one another as the traits of most importance in Nature.* But after *ignoring* these technical ideas, it becomes manifest that the distinctions, morphological or physiological, taken as tests of species, *are merely incidental phenomena.*" But what else has been the aim of speculative science for the last forty years but to endeavor to explain the origin of species? What has been the goal of observation and experiment? What have meant the labors of Darwin, of Huxley, of even Mr. Spencer himself, as well as of their hosts of industrious disciples, but to bridge the chasms that separate species from species, to level the walls of adamant that separate them; in a word, to solve the question which Mr. Spencer now discovers to be merely "secondary," "collateral," "irrelevant," and the proper treatment of which is "to ignore" it altogether? Mr. Spencer's novel position would be extremely ludicrous if it were not extremely pathetic. For it must be remembered that with the fall of the origin of species

[1] The objections brought against the Darwinian hypothesis by Agassiz, Pictet and Sedgwick, and parried but not answered by Mr. Darwin, also apply here. These paleontologists showed from the geological record that whole groups of allied species *suddenly* appear in certain formations, and although the geological record is the Bible, Koran and Talmud in one, of Darwinism, Mr. Darwin's only reply was an appeal to the imperfection of the geological record.

by means of natural selection he sees his own life-work coming tumbling about his ears. But while Mr. Spencer is pleased to ignore the distinction of species, nature by no means ignores it. It is still as stubborn a fact as if Mr. Spencer had never disapproved of it, and yet remains to be accounted for. For the outcome of all experiment, observation, theory, hypothesis, speculation, inquiry, research for the past forty years has been—what? To show that natural selection has originated a new species? To demonstrate conclusively that natural selection can originate a new species? To prove the truth of the theory which science undertook to establish as truth? Assuredly no. On the contrary, the result has been to establish more firmly than ever the immutability of physiological species, to show that the impregnable walls which divide species from species are still as impenetrable as ever, and that the only law of species which may not be successfully controverted is the law which science started out to disprove—the law of the first chapter of the Book of Genesis; that herb, and plant, and tree, and shrub, and every living thing should bring forth fruit after its kind. Indeed, so far is natural selection from standing the test of the second question: Has it originated or can it originate a new species? that, on the contrary, it has proved a veritable Balaam, blessing where it meant to curse and cursing where it meant to bless. The answer to the second question is worse than failure. All the evidence it gives is in favor of the opposing counsel.

The third test: Is natural selection consistent with all the known facts? seems at first sight to be the stronghold of natural selection. The late Professor Huxley has indeed left on record that "it cannot be shown to be inconsistent with any of the known facts" of science; but this, as we have seen, is at best but a negative proof, or, to speak more correctly, a mere presumption in its favor. The known facts of science are to the unknown as a point to infinity, and even were it true (as it is not) that natural selection is not inconsistent with any of the known facts of science, to-morrow or the day after may bring to light a multitude of facts totally at variance with it. The waysides of history are strewn with the wreckage of theories which for the time being were supposed to be consistent with all the known facts which the theories were supposed to explain. The late Duke of Argyll, for instance, once showed Professor Huxley, to his deep and bitter mortification, how Bathybius at one time could not only "not be shown to be inconsistent with any of the facts," but that on the contrary, it was consistent with all of them; and how, nevertheless, it soon proved to be an exceeding false and foolish hypothesis. A Darwinian speculation regarding the formation of coral reefs was found for the moment to be "not inconsistent with any of the known

facts" concerning these strange formations; nay, it even accounted for them splendidly and minutely; nevertheless, when the truth was discovered, the speculation was gathered to the ashes of baseless hypotheses. The corpuscular theory of light and the geocentric system were both found to be in harmony with the known facts, but both are now relegated to the limbo of defunct theories. Hence, even were we to admit Professor Huxley's statement that the theory of evolution cannot be shown to be inconsistent with any of the facts, the value of natural selection is not thereby greatly enhanced. At best this would only constitute a presumption in its favor. But this consistency with facts cannot be admitted at all. Mr. Spencer's testimony on this point will be far more acceptable than ours; hence we quote him. For instance, Mr. Spencer—dealing with the cellular doctrine, and showing how the individual cells of a living organism have all sprung from a single nucleated cell, become clusters of nucleated cells, and go on ever multiplying and modifying, thus forming the tissues and organs of the living animal, the while each cell carries on its own independent individual life—tells us that "On the hypothesis of evolution this universal trait has to be accepted not as a fact *that is strange but unmeaning*." Here, according to Mr. Spencer, is a fact, or, rather, a whole body of general facts, wholly at variance with natural selection. The natural selectionist will be forced here to quarrel either with Mr. Spencer's facts or with his conclusion. To us it is immaterial which he elects.

Again, in endeavoring to show how complex forms of matter have arisen from a degree less complex, Mr. Spencer tells us: "In the absence of that cyclical series of metamorphoses which even the simplest living thing now shows us, as a result of its inherited constitution, *there could be no point d'appui for natural selection*." Again, Mr. Spencer comes to our aid in showing that natural selection is not always consistent with all the known facts, when he tells us that "Especially in the case of powers which do not subserve self-preservation in appreciable degrees does development by natural selection appear *impracticable*." And once exasperated beyond all endurance by the nagging of the Neo-Darwinians, Mr. Spencer, Samson-like, is even ready to pull down the temple on his own head, forgetting his own safety in his determination to compass the destruction of his tormentors. He comes out into the open and explicitly accuses natural selection of its inconsistency with facts, when in his attempt to explain the case of the Amazon ants—which are unable to feed themselves—he tells us that even "the old hypothesis of special creation *is more consistent and comprehensible*" than natural selection. So that according to Mr. Spencer, what was supposed

to be the stronghold of natural selection cannot be accorded the dignity of even a negative proof or favorable presumption.

We now come to the fourth test of the doctrine, and it is really the crucial one. For even though it were shown that there is such a thing as natural selection, even though it were clearly proven that species could be originated by it, and even though it were shown not to be inconsistent with any known fact, unless it explains all the facts, the theory is worthless. Does it then explain all the facts? It would, indeed, be difficult to find a scientist of any repute who holds that it does explain all the facts of biological science. Professor Huxley left among his last utterances the confession that natural selection was "not at once *competent to explain all the facts* of biological science," although he maintained that it was not inconsistent with any. Mr. Spencer, as we have already seen, tells us "that it by no means explains all that has to be explained, that it leaves us without a key to many phenomena of organic evolution," and that a "very extensive part of the facts" cannot be ascribed to it. But what need is there of quotation? Did not Mr. Spencer write his "Factors of Organic Evolution" for the express purpose of showing its inadequacy? Was it not because of its inadequacy to explain that he sought to discover new factors to explain what natural selection had failed to explain? Has he not within the last decade written four different articles, now collected under the title of "The Inadequacy of Natural Selection," fully to demonstrate its failure? Has he not confronted the Neo-Darwinians with three different problems insoluble by natural selection and told them that "failure to solve any one (italics Mr. Spencer's) would, I think, alone prove the Neo-Darwinian doctrines untenable; and the fact that we have three unsolved problems seems to me to be fatal?" Indeed, has not Mr. Spencer, since the middle of the last decade, bent all his energies to the task of showing that natural selection is utterly incompetent to account for all the facts of biological science, and that the doctrine of the inheritance of functionally-produced modifications is absolutely necessary to carry on the work of explanation where it fails? The truth is that any one who wishes for a refutation of the doctrine of natural selection need only open Mr. Spencer's later writings to find proof in abundance of the inadequacy of natural selection to explain all the facts of biological science.

And if we go to Mr. Spencer's opponents, who still affect to believe that natural selection is all-sufficing, we find that in order to solve the problems inexplicable by natural selection they are obliged to supplement it by such processes as Panmixia, special determinants, *plus* and *minus* variations. The vascular system, the muscular system, the nervous system, the varied bodily and

mental faculties in man; the higher powers, such as the artistic and the æsthetic faculties, so highly developed in some particular instances in the human family; the increase in weight of the head of the bison and moose deer; the enormous horns of the extinct Irish elk, sometimes weighing more than a hundred-weight, as we are told—these and many others of like difficulty form the real crux of natural selection. With all the straining and stretching of the doctrine by the Darwinians, natural selection cannot be made to cover these cases; while in such cases as the dwindling away of organs, for instance; the supposed revolution of the reproductive system in mammals; and, to descend to particular cases, the singular combination of the physiological and the psychological processes in what are called the mason wasps; natural selection stands completely dumfounded and absolutely speechless. Or, if we take the familiar case of the close connection between the structural change in the vocal organs in man and his sexual development, evolutionists of every school will candidly admit that it is wholly inexplicable on the hypothesis of natural selection, even when that doctrine is reinforced by the new theories, whether of gemmules, or determinants, or germ cells and sperm cells, or physiological units.

We shall add one further instance in which Mr. Spencer combats the doctrine by a *reductio ad absurdum.* It is that of the colored rings in the peacock's tail and the wonderful symmetry of the arrangement by which the eyes in the ends of the feathers fall into line, both as to color and position, so as to form from the separate threads in each feather the beautiful and symmetric whole. In attempting to account for it on a basis of natural selection the only available explanation would be that of special determinants—a hypothesis of the Neo-Darwinians which simply means that every variable part in an organism must have a special determinant which decides in every instance the form and function of this particular part, this determinant being of necessity contained in the microscopic head of the spermatozoön from which the organism derives its existence. Mr. Spencer has calculated that in order to give the color to the four wings of a butterfly no less than two hundred thousand of these special determinants would be necessary. And in the case of the tail of a peacock, he figures that there are three hundred threads in each feather, and that each thread bears on an average sixteen hundred processes, each process requiring a special determinant. Hence he very justly concludes that according to the doctrine of natural selection, for each feather four hundred and eighty thousand of these determinants would be necessary, and consequently for the whole tail many millions. And when to these we add the determinants for all the other feathers, and also for the different variable parts of the

body at large, and then recollect that all these millions of determinants must have been contained in the microscopic head of a spermatozoön, we shall be ready to exclaim with Mr. Spencer: "Hardly a credible supposition." Evolutionists have imagined all manner of explanations for the difficulties they meet with; but, as Mr. Spencer confesses:

"Imagination, whatever license may be given, utterly fails us. At last, then, we are obliged to admit that the actual organizing process transcends conception. It is not enough to say that we cannot know it; we must say that we cannot even conceive it."

Hence not only has the origin of species not been discovered and not only has the origin of life not been solved, but there is still a large body of residual phenomena, a large number of facts that natural selection admits its inability to account for; as Mr. Spencer phrases it: "There remain many unsolved problems." Consequently subjected to this, the real test, we find that on the authority of evolutionists of every shade, not only has natural selection, but all the other theories as well, whether taken individually or collectively, been utterly discredited.

The fifth test is hardly worth considering, for it is hardly conceivable how a theory which fails utterly to account for all the facts of biological phenomena can be regarded as explaining them better than any other. From a scientific point of view it is not a question as to which has succeeded best, but as to which has most conspicuously failed. We are not arguing the case for special creation. We are merely demonstrating the utter failure of evolution by means of natural selection. But the nature of this last test of the doctrine challenges at once a consideration of the comparative merits of the two theories. An exhaustive comparison would extend this article beyond due limits, but a few leading points may be briefly indicated.

In the first place, a claimant already in possession has at least the right of possession as against all usurpers; all recognize in such cases such right of possession. In the next place, the title of such a claimant is usually regarded as strengthened, or at least not impaired, when such usurpers and pretenders fail to establish their pretensions. In the third place, the title of such a claimant is far superior to that of the rival claimant or pretender who fails to prove his claims.[2] Special creation is the claimant in possession—has been in possession during the entire period of man's history. Natural selection is one of the pretenders and usurpers—and one of the usurpers that has confessedly failed to establish its claims. Two years after the publication of Darwin's "Origin of Species," Pro-

[2] *Special* creation is not a dogma of religion, but of science. Linnæus was the first to formulate the doctrine in his famous stately phrase: Species tot sunt quot diversas formas ab initio produxit Infinitus Eius.

fessor Huxley, in his overweening confidence that the Darwinian hypothesis was bound to succeed, remarked concerning special creation:

"Two years ago, in fact, . . . their position (special creation) seemed more impregnable than ever, if not by its own inherent strength, at any right by the obvious failure of all the attempts which had been made to carry it."

Professor Huxley evidently did not then dream that in less than half a century the same words could be used in connection with the admitted failure of Darwinism "to carry" the position of special creation; and that, to use his own reasoning, that position seems now "more impregnable than ever by the obvious failure" of Darwinism.

Let us briefly enumerate the points where Darwinism has confessedly failed and we shall find that they are the all-important points, the points essential to a victory. First comes the gulf dividing inorganic from organic matter which science had promised to bridge for us, but where every attempt has met with ignominious failure. The distinguishing element between the organic as separating it from the inorganic world is not so much the presence of an organism as the presence of a principle to which the organism ministers, which is nowadays termed the vital principle and commonly called life. What light has natural selection thrown on life? "Under what form are we to conceive the dynamic element" in life? "Is this principle of activity inherent in organic matter, or is it something superadded?" "Is there one kind of vital principle for all kinds of organisms, or is there a separate kind for each?" "How are we to conceive that genesis of a vital principle which must go along with the genesis of an organism?" In the presence of these and hundreds of other similar questions which science set out to answer, it stands dumb and confounded. Mr. Spencer sums up its failure thus:

"In brief, then, we are obliged to confess that Life in its essence cannot be conceived in physico-chemical terms. The required principle of activity, which we found cannot be represented in living matter. If by assuming its inherence we think the facts are accounted for, we do but cheat ourselves with pseud ideas."[3]

Next comes the transition from plant life to animal life. It is indeed true that natural selectionists claim to have bridged over this gulf, yet we must confess that we have never seen the structure so securely adjusted as to ensure a safe passage over it. Mr. Darwin himself never actually believed that there was such a transition. He believed that plants and animals had entirely distinct origins. His words are: "I believe that animals are descended from at most only four or five progenitors, and plants from an equal or lesser num-

[3] It is not a little singular that Mr. Spencer, as he somewhere tells us, saw fit to omit that part of his vast programme which should deal with the transition from inorganic to organic matter. Is it not also a little significant? Two whole volumes, he tells us, were omitted by him—volumes which should bear directly on this subject.

ber." It is true he seemed inclined to go still further, but admitted that in taking such a step he would be led only by analogy, and he very wisely remarks: "But analogy may be a deceitful guide."

Again, the hiatus between man and the other animals is one of the difficulties which natural selection has again and again declared as triumphantly solved, but which still persists—rather perversely indeed—in still coming up for solution. To use a slang but somewhat expressive phrase, it refuses to remain solved. Then we have the immutability of species. As has been shown, natural selection has egregiously failed to solve the very question here which it set out to solve. The different species remain still independent, immutable, invariable. They rise up like so many atolls out of the biologic sea, with walls sheer and with the outside waters separating them from their neighbors of unfathomable depth. They are still as distinct from one another as separate mountain peaks whose bases meet, but whose snow-capped summits can never intermingle. Indeed, the investigations of natural selection have all gone to show that each physiological species is a walled castle whose frowning battlements sternly forbid all approach or intercourse of neighboring species. So much so indeed that as we have already seen Mr. Spencer has at last concluded that the proper treatment of such feudal exclusiveness is to entirely ignore it. And lastly we have the large realm of facts which natural selection confesses its inability to explain. These are common, everyday facts which unsought have obtruded themselves upon the notice of scientists; and doubtless were any one to undertake *ex professo* to discover still others, the number might be increased a hundredfold. Add to these the deeper questions which natural selection does not dare to touch upon at all, and the ignominious confession that, in many of the solutions it claims to have arrived at, it has employed symbol and mystery, pseud ideas or symbolic conceptions of the illegitimate order—which at the outset it so mercilessly branded with fiercest condemnation—and we have in brief the humiliating story of natural selection's admitted failure. This failure Mr. Spencer thus sums up:

"Thus the process of organic evolution is far from being fully understood. We can only suppose that as there are devised by human beings many puzzles apparently unanswerable till the answer is given, and many necromantic tricks which seem impossible till the mode of performance is shown, so there are apparently incomprehensible results which are really achieved by natural processes. Or otherwise we must conclude that since Life itself proves to be in its ultimate nature inconceivable, there is probably an inconceivable element in its ultimate workings."

The failure then of natural selection is not only proved, but admitted; so that to return to our question of the comparative merits of natural selection and special creation, we may now let Professor Huxley answer it for us. He told us, as we have seen above, that

when Darwinism first flung its glove into the arena to challenge special creation, that doctrine "seemed more impregnable than ever . . . by the obvious failure of all the attempts which had been made to carry it." Since that time evolution by means of natural selection has been the only challenger; and as, by the confession of Mr. Spencer, evolution by means of natural selection has ignominiously failed, we do not see why Professor Huxley's reasoning will not apply as well now as it did half a century ago, and the conclusion be as legitimate now as it was then; that the position of special creation is "more impregnable than ever, if not by its own inherent strength, at any right by the obvious failure" of evolution.

Still we hold no brief for special creation. We are willing to accept the doctrine of evolution when the evidence in its favor justifies in so doing, but it surely cannot be our fault if the reasoning of the evolutionists themselves, coupled with their admissions of failure, forces us to accept the former as the only theory left us. There may be added further that, as compared with natural selection, special creation would seem to have all the force of logic and dignity on its side. For in ascribing at the outset all the changes manifested by phenomena to a Being of infinite intelligence and infinite skill, it at once assigned an adequate cause for all phenomena. All that could be further expected of it logically was to establish the relation of effect and cause. It was relieved of the task of accounting for difficulties by simply referring them to this cause whose ways it declared inscrutable and whose wonders were incomprehensible. This position was eminently logical. Natural selection, on the other hand, starting out with a rigid exclusion of the supernatural and everything which transcended conception, boldly unfurled its banner, on which was inscribed the motto: "All phenomena must be solved by simply rational processes," and now it finds itself forced by stress of circumstances to admit its mistake and to refer back all its difficulties to sources which transcend conception—the very process against which it primarily revolted. At the same time, with noisy and boisterous clamor, it decried special creation and drove it from the field, while it loudly boasted that it was ready to solve all difficulties by natural methods. Now it is forced ignominiously to confess that it finds those difficulties insoluble. Thus we find that on every point of a true and logical critique the evidence for natural selection utterly breaks down.

Some years ago some enemy of man's peace devised a puzzle of the kind above alluded to by Mr. Spencer. The contrivance was simplicity itself, almost primitiveness. It consisted of a little wooden shallow frame four or five inches square, into which fitted small movable blocks, also of wood, numbered 1, 2, 3, etc., up to 15.

The puzzle consisted in arranging the blocks in order from 1 to 15. It was the most harmless looking affair imaginable; yet, if we are to credit the newspapers of the period, men sat down to it in the greatest confidence and ended in a strait-jacket. Whatever way one started to solve the puzzle everything worked well up to a certain point. The numbers fell into perfect order almost automatically until the last two or last three were reached. The arithmetical progression was perfect up to this point, but when the last three were expected to fall into line and read 13, 14, 15, to the surprise of the solver they read—14, 13, 15. Smiling at his mistake, the performer started anew, when, to his surprise, the end read—13, 15, 14. Somewhat annoyed at his second failure and determined not to be caught napping a third time, he again manipulated the blocks, this time to find the ending, perhaps, 15, 14, 13. Beginning now to realize that there was, perhaps, some difficulty in the puzzle after all, he entered on the solution in dead earnest—perhaps, adopted a new method—only to find the termination was—14, 15, 13. Again and again it was tried with similar results. Every combination seemed to come easily except the regular series, 13, 14, 15; and at last the puzzle was flung aside in despair. What we wish to note particularly here is: First, that the order was always perfect up to a certain point; next, that there were only two or at most three recalcitrant numbers in the end; and, lastly, that with the perfect order of almost the whole, while the two or three recalcitrant numbers remained at the end, no man pretended to claim that he had solved the puzzle.

The evolutionists have a similar problem on their hands; but they do not act quite so rationally. They go over the evolutional series with natural selection as the key, only to find that the residual phenomena will not fall into line, but end with 15, 14, 13. Encouraged by the perfect arrangement of the rest of the work, they go over the ground again with similar results. They abandon natural selection and start afresh, using the new key of functionally-produced modifications, but end with 14, 13, 15. After a few further attempts—followed always by failure—they try a combination of natural selection and functionally-produced changes as the key, only still to find that residual phenomena will read anything but 13, 14, 15. They have produced beautiful combinations and cannot persuade themselves that such perfect arrangement up to a certain point meant nothing—just as the series in the puzzle runs for a long distance in perfect progression—but the residual phenomena remain, like the numbers at the end, unsolved and insoluble. But while the champion prize-winner who undertakes the puzzle and gets only 14, 13, 15 knows that he has failed and that he would only be laughed at should he claim that he had solved the puzzle, the evolutionist will not admit

that his 15, 14, 13 is failure at all. He insists that his beautiful combinations must count for something; that, in fact, he has solved the problem. This is what we are told is a demonstrated conclusion in science.

We may be all anxious to become evolutionists provided the evidence will permit us. But here it is manifestly a question of believing not only in spite of the evidence, but in spite of the admission that the evidence is false. To believe a wrong doctrine which we imagine to be right may be only an error of perception; but to persist in believing a doctrine which we admit to be false is against good morals. Shall it be said that we are not asked to do this? Then let us put it to the test. Does the evidence show that evolution by means of natural selection is the law of nature? No. On the contrary, it has been demonstrated to be false. The few who will not yet admit it to be false are forced to admit—what is the same thing—that it is defective. Does the evidence show that evolution by means of functionally-produced modifications is the law of nature? No. On the contrary, all Darwinians and all Spencerians admit its insufficiency. Does the evidence show that evolution by means of natural selection and functionally-produced modifications combined is the law of nature? Darwinians and some others ridicule the notion as absurd. Mr. Spencer maintains that with the exception of some classes of phenomena which we may here call the 13, 14, 15 of phenomena, it is all-sufficient; which is equivalent to saying that it is manifestly insufficient.

As Mr. Spencer, however, is still the highest authority on evolution, let us glance briefly at the workings of the combined factors in the realm over which Mr. Spencer claims the allied forces have sway. Formerly he deemed one factor sufficient to account for all phenomena; now we are told three are required. Some phenomena, we are told, are inexplicable otherwise than by natural selection; some can be explained only by the inheritance of functionally-produced changes; while other some still are explicable only by the aid of the primordial factor—the direct action of the medium. But the question naturally arises: What are the respective duties of these three factors? What relations do the factors themselves bear to one another? Are they three separate, independent sovereigns? Do they reign conjointly, consecutively or distributively? Are we to regard the world of evolution as a region ruled over by a triumvirate which, like Cæsar, Crassus and Pompey, partition among themselves the organic, possibly the inorganic world also? Or is it an ideal republic—a new Utopia—where there are only three possible candidates for the presidency, and where, by some new felicitous arrangement, each candidate reaches the presidential chair at the

proper time without the time-honored campaign courtesies, the pledging of the spoils of office, or even the traditional ceremony of purchasing votes? Some phenomena, we are told, have their explanation in one factor, some in a second, some in a third, while others some seem to have their explanation in a combination of two or even all three of the factors; but whether all three exercise a joint sovereignty or whether each has its own independent sphere within which the other two would be regarded as intruders; or whether each reigns for a fixed period, handing over his sceptre to the next; or whether natural selection, the inheritance of functionally-produced modifications and the direct action of the medium are, like Mrs. Malaprop's Cerberus, simply "three gentlemen at once;" is what neither Mr. Spencer, Mr. Darwin nor any of their followers has succeeded in satisfactorily explaining. Coöperation can hardly have been the rule that has been followed, for if we take Mr. Spencer's word for it, he will point out to us whole realms where he avers that natural selection has been the sole exclusive factor, while on the other hand he will show us numerous instances in which it must be wholly excluded as a factor. And the same reasons will militate against any theory of consecutiveness or distribution of empire.

Indeed, there are few things more amusing than Mr. Spencer's well-meant efforts to effect a balance of power between the various factors. The assignment of their different provinces to those ambitious factors and the prevention of mutual encroachments has been a sore trial to Mr. Spencer; and he has not always succeeded to his own satisfaction. If it be true that "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," Mr. Spencer could truthfully assert, from his own experience, that still more uneasy lies the head whose task is to maintain the proper limits of each of many crowns, and to keep its own proper crown on each particular head. Mr. Spencer's experience is that there is liable to be a confusion of territories as well as a confounding of diadems. Take, for instance, natural selection. Mr. Spencer at first made it sole and absolute ruler, with sovereign, undisputed sway on land and sea throughout all time, past, present and future. Its empire was the universe. But now all this is changed. Old age grows apace on the once proud monarch. A new and active world which it has brought into being springs up around it, so progressive and so intricately complicated that natural selection is no longer able to keep pace with the times. From the very outset it was merely a plodder, and now in "the multiplicity of directly-coöperative organs" and "the multiplicity of organs which do not coöperate," except in a certain way, natural selection, while not yet a hindrance, shows unmistakable symptoms of its inability to march in the van of progress.

"Where the life is simple," Mr. Spencer tells us, "or where circumstances render some one function supremely important, survival of the fittest may readily bring about the appropriate structural change."

But here began and ended its usefulness. Mr. Spencer somewhat regretfully adds:

"But in proportion as the life grows complex—in proportion as a healthy existence cannot be secured by a large endowment of some one power, but demands many powers—in the same proportion do there arise obstacles to the increase of any particular power by 'the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life.' "—(Natural Selection.)

And Mr. Spencer, as if insisting on the abdication of natural selection, repeats his remarks, regretfully indeed, but firmly.

"As fast," he says, "as the number of bodily and mental faculties increases and as fast as maintenance of life comes to depend less on the amount of any one and more on the combined actions of all, so fast does the production of specialties of character by natural selection alone become difficult. Particularly does this seem to be so with a species so multitudinous in its powers as mankind; and above all does it seem to be so with such of the human powers as have but minor shares in aiding the struggle for life—the æsthetic faculties, for example."

It may be remarked in passing that thus does Mr. Spencer at one fell stroke despoil natural selection of its long-vaunted honor of producing a race of men on this planet. Man is too fearfully and wonderfully made, Mr. Spencer informs us, to be the product of natural selection; and that doctrine he gently but firmly relegates to the region which, for want of a better name, is called in common parlance "fossil," "back number," "has been" and such like. No sooner, however, has the dethronement taken place than Mr. Spencer, conscience-smitten for an act which was surely imperative, finds the bowels of his compassion moved in favor of the discrowned ruler; and lest natural selection should feel too sorely aggrieved over its degradation he hastens to assure it that it must not regard itself as altogether useless. No; no! No such thing. The dethroned and degraded doctrine is yet good for something. Quite touchingly he tells us:

"It by no means follows that in cases of this kind natural selection plays no part. Wherever it is not the chief agent in working organic changes it is still, very generally, the secondary agent."

But, alas! even for this place, second though it be, Mr. Spencer evidently finds the dethroned doctrine incompetent. In the advancing cycles, and rapid changes, and increasing complexity of things natural selection is but a laggard, and Mr. Spencer is forced at last to deal with it after the manner of all incapables. He drops it altogether. In a quasi aside he tells us "there are, however, some modifications in the sizes and forms of parts *which cannot have been aided by natural selection.*" It was inevitable. *Facilis descensus Averni.* The degraded chieftain is now despised and dropped entirely out of sight. Still this dismissal

does not rest easy on Mr. Spencer's conscience. The ghost of natural selection evidently haunts Mr. Spencer's waking thoughts and walks uneasy in his dreams. Like Banquo's, it will not down. Natural selection too long loomed up majestically in the evolutional heavens to submit easily to so ignominious a dismissal, and Mr. Spencer is forced again to recognize its claims. Mr. Spencer is at his wit's ends to find an appropriate office to which he can assign it, and feeling guilty at heart because of his shabby treatment of the once potent factor, he hastens to soothe the outraged feelings of the deposed sovereign. What wonder then that in his confusion he should forget what he told us a moment before, and that almost before the words had died away on his lips in which he told us of the instances in which natural selection was a complete supernumerary, he reassures that doctrine that: To be sure—to be sure—

"Always there must have been, and always there must continue to be, a survival of the fittest; natural selection must have been in operation at the outset, *and can never cease to operate.*"

But now that Mr. Spencer has reinstated in its claims natural selection, the question comes, what shall be done with it? Indeed to Mr. Spencer the question, what shall we do with our ex-factors? is quite as perplexing as is to us the question, what shall we do with our ex-Presidents? And here it is that Mr. Spencer executes a *coup* which proves him to be alike a brilliant statesman and an unflinching friend. It was, indeed, somewhat awkward to have natural selection stalk back again into court and assert its claims when it was confidently believed that both claims and owner had been got rid of forever; but Mr. Spencer was equal to the occasion. He promptly established for its special benefit an entirely new office, that of headsman of the kingdom of evolution; and natural selection was promptly installed as general fool-killer of the realm. Here is the statute creating the office, and by virtue of which natural selection was duly inaugurated. (The inconsequence of thought and incoherence of language are unusual with Mr. Spencer, and only serve to show the perturbed condition of Mr. Spencer's mind.) It reads:

"The production of adaptations by direct equilibration then takes the first place, indirect equilibration serving to facilitate it. Until at length, among the civilized races, the equilibrium becomes mainly direct, *the action of natural selection being limited to the destruction of those who are constitutionally too feeble to live, even with external aid.*"

One would naturally suppose that such an office was a perfect sinecure. It would require the genius of Mr. Spencer to determine precisely just what amount of energy was needed to kill off those who could not live, even when externally aided. Assuredly neither the strength of a Samson nor the power of a Hercules was required to fulfil the duties of Lord High Executioner. And yet it must be confessed on looking over the field of evolution that the

office is but indifferently administered, and that here, too, natural selection shows itself to be a delinquent functionary. But that is neither here nor there. The main point which we must not lose sight of is Mr. Spencer's almost insurmountable difficulties in maintaining intact his inter-factorial arrangements. Nor is this all. It must be remembered that all these difficulties confronted him in times of comparative peace. What, then, in time of warfare? For we must not forget that the dethroned monarch, natural selection, has, if not a powerful, at least a noisy following, and that its followers insist on nothing less than a restoration of the dethroned factor to all its original dignities and prerogatives—a movement which, knowing as he does the utter incapacity of natural selection—Mr. Spencer feels it his bounden duty to strenuously oppose. And if in the *mêlée* Mr. Spencer is forced from time to time to sacrifice his humane and philanthropic intentions in behalf of his old friend to his sense of right, and even to deal that friend a somewhat rough blow now and then, the fault is not Mr. Spencer's, but theirs who will persist in forcing natural selection upon him in spite of its demonstrated incapacity.

We have here indicated in brief some of the difficulties of a divided factorship, roughly outlining Mr. Spencer's perplexity in assigning its province to natural selection. Natural selection, however, is but one single factor; and Mr. Spencer has not one, but three, upon whose discordant claims he is called upon to arbitrate. And as the claims of some of the others are as fiercely contested as those of natural selection are urged, Mr. Spencer's lot as general adjuster is anything but a happy one.

And this is the doctrine, demoralized beyond all understanding, to which we are asked to subscribe. As it stands before the world to-day it bears rather the imprint of bedlam than that of science, logic or reason.

But we are told Catholic scientists accept the doctrine of evolution. They all agree that evolution is a fact. That they do so is not at all impossible or even improbable. The ovine instinct is, undoubtedly, as strong in the Catholic scientist as in any other. But without intending any disrespect to Catholic scientists, it might be safe to ask them where are the proofs of the doctrine? Infidel and materialistic scientists admit that the evidence has broken down; possibly Catholic scientists have been more fortunate. If so, the world would be pleased to see the proofs. We are all willing to become evolutionists when we are convinced of the truth of the doctrine; but we maintain that until the proofs are forthcoming it would be immoral to accept it. We are somewhat loath to accept the doctrine on the mere word of the scientists, since we have yet to learn that the *con-*

sensus communis of Catholic scientists has been established as a new criterion of certitude. We further know that evolutionists were fully as certain and fully as dogmatic twenty years ago in their teachings that evolution *by means of natural selection* was a fact as they are to-day that evolution is a fact. But if evolution is a fact, may it not be legitimately asked, evolution of what kind? Is it the evolution of the Darwinian? or the evolution of the Neo-Darwinian? or the evolution of the Spencerian? or the evolution of the Neo-Lamarckian? If any, which of them, and what are the proofs? It will not do to say that evolution is true; because evolution without some key to unlock it conveys no meaning. It is as intelligible as the signals which Professor Tesla tells us he is receiving from Mars. This much at least could be said for those who followed the dogmatism in vogue a quarter of a century ago: False as was that dogmatism, it masqueraded as truth. The evangelists of the doctrine professed faith in their own teachings; now, however, they admit the inadequacy of their doctrines. Yet, strange to say, the disciples multiply as the evidence weakens. Formerly we believed because of an inadequate evidence which we falsely supposed to be adequate. Now we believe in spite of the fact that the evidence has been proved and is admitted to be inadequate. It cannot, however, be regarded either as sound philosophy or as sound morals to change our *credo quia impossibile est* to a *credo quia falsum est.*

S. Fitzsimons.

Lima, N. Y.

LUTHER AND HIS PROTESTANT BIOGRAPHERS.

If Emerson's hackneyed and jaded axiom that "there is properly no history, only biography," is not a meaningless platitude, and conceals a bare substratum of truth, a fact that may be presumptively entertained, if not tacitly admitted, then every student of history must join the increasingly large and vehemently insistent chorus which demands a new life of Martin Luther. Confessedly one of the most conspicuous figures in the life of Germany, one of the epoch-creating minds in the history of religious thought, one of the most potent agencies in the political trend of modern nations, whether for weal or woe, remains an open, arguable, stubbornly contested controversy—his career in many of its diversified workings

stands without an authentic, trustworthy chronicle. A Colossus, whom the popular mind represents as bestriding the two most crucial epochs in history since the dawn of Christianity—the Middle Ages and the Renaissance—beaconing aloft the new light which should dispel religious and intellectual darkness: a Titan whose dominant will, infectious eloquence and unbridled impulsiveness diverted a large part of Northern and Western Europe from the stream of a sixteen-centuried, unbroken current—he still awaits the advent of the critical, scientific biographer. Not that assiduous efforts in this direction have not been made, or that abundant results are not in evidence. The Luther biographical literature is cumbered and weighted down with the luxuriant fertility and tireless industry of the last three centuries. But the success of these endeavors is not always commensurate with the opportunities. Reverential tenderness, hagiologic unctuousness, pietistic exaltation and indurated credulity, overstrained panegyric and grandiose rhetoric are keyed in their highest pitch when they have Luther as a theme.

In almost every instance the biographer seems struck with a sense of awe and infinitude when he applies his critical rule to the Reformer. He discovers nothing but immeasurable heights or unfathomable depths. There are no depressions or elevations, no low-lying country and mountain peaks, no gullies and ravines, no defiles and cliffs and escarpments. With compass and sounding line he is stupefied with wonderment at the prospect of an

> Illimitable ocean, without bound,
> Without dimension, where length, breadth and height
> And time and place are lost.

He forgets to make even an endeavor to take his correct bearings.

But in this farrago of flattery and pedantry we search in vain for distinctness and completeness of the Reformer's personality. The clearly etched lineaments of the man of flesh and blood, the man of moods and impulses, of angularities and idiosyncrasies—in the fulness of his stature, the maturity of his work, the results of his mission—is slighted and ignored. It is seemingly overlooked that "the Old Adam in Martin Luther . . . was a very formidable personage; lodged in a body of surpassing vigour, solicited by vehement appetites and alive to all the passions by which man is armed for offensive and defensive warfare with his fellows."[1] The veil shrouding his sacrosanct person is not lifted; he is not taken from the incense laden altar of hero-worship, "that ditch of prehistoric prejudice," to submit to the scrutiny of criticism's piercing searchlight, psychology's subtle analysis, logic's inflexible canons. The mythical hero

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 68, p. 276.

Luther has been fully exploited; the historical *man* Luther awaits disinterment.

Nietsche, one of the ripest developments of modern German intellectualism, speaks of an "*Umwertung der Goethe'schen Werte*," "reappraisement of the Goethe values," which is now rudely shaking the Weimar prophet on his Parnassian heights. No student, historical, political or theological, can blind himself to the fact that for well nigh a century there has been among Protestant scholars an insurrectionary movement, with bated breath at times, mutinous intractability at others, but always active and mordant as an acid, inciting a reappraisement of the Luther values. His greatness was taken on trust. A more observant and critical, less credulous and reverent posterity is now scanning the Reformation period, and conjointly Luther. Both may be taken as convertible terms, for, as Professor Baumgartner comprehensively puts it, "to study the Reformation is to study Luther;" and he sounds a keynote when he adds that it is because Luther is insufficiently studied that a veil covers the history of the Reformation.[2]

The result of this movement is already apparent. The fictions and chimeras are gradually melting away like dissolving views from the historical horizon. In this hegira from the borderland of historical obscuration to the noonday of truth, the Reformation has changed its entire character and aspect. Luther is a star wavering in its orbit; the nimbus circling his brow emits an unsteady, paling light. The *man* Luther is brought from the twilight of the gods to the tribunal of calm, critical scrutiny. The adventitious appendages stripped off, the glamour of devoutly woven romance dissipated, the solid core of his being laid bare, the undazzled eye of philosophic criticism reveals an entirely new character, discloses startling results and unravels unaccounted motives. In fact, the new Reformation studies have effected a veritable metamorphosis, a metamorphosis that forms not a mere incident or episode, but, to use the words of a weighty English critical review, "marks an epoch in the progress of historical scholarship."[3]

The first rude shock the Luther myth received was when Bossuet revealed the Reformer as a theologian[4] in a work which Brunetière pronounces the greatest historical monument of the last centuries,[5] and Buckle designates as "the most formidable work ever directed against Protestantism."[6] Here in dealing with Luther, says Hallam, "the eagle of Meaux is . . . truly seen, lordly of form, fierce of eye, terrible in his beak and claws." Yet aside of his incomparable eloquence, luminous perspicuity, ardent sincerity, his whole

[2] "Luther Redivivus," p. 115. [3] *Athenæum*, Dec., 1884, p. 729. [4] "History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches," 2 vols. [5] *The Bookman*, Vol. V., p. 26. [6] "History of Civilization in England," Vol. I., p. 569.

strength lies in his perfect mastery of the Reformer's works, which were then as little known as they are now. An intuitive prescience told the historian, Catholic and Protestant, long ago that when students "find, as assuredly they will find, when some Roman Catholic historian chooses to lift a corner of the veil that has hitherto concealed the fanaticism of the reformers how carefully the view has been closed by Protestant historians,"[7] disillusion, if not bitter resentment, will be the penalty. Bossuet lifted a corner of the veil, showed us Luther as a theologian, his doctrinal system with its contradictions, paradoxes, vacillations, inconsistencies, rhetorical artifices, in a light that has not been dimmed, much less obscured, to this day. This was the first rift in the Reformation fabric, long known to exist, but now first publicly disclosed.

Then came Döllinger,[8] rivetting the attention of scholarship on the inner development of the Reformation, with Luther again as a pivotal figure. In this work, remarkable for its penetrative vision, constructive skill, logical coherence and unwearied research, with deft hand and passionless speech, he probes Luther and his work to the very hilt. His terrible surgery of the Reformation dissects and anatomizes its every organ, tissue, nerve centre; lays open its most hidden processes, auscultates its feeblest heartbeats, gives articulation to its inarticulate speech. This he does with such a photographic fidelity and microscopic minuteness and unerring divination, such an accuracy, definiteness and trustworthiness of statement, the Reformers themselves giving their evidence in their own words, that the work remains to this day an unanswered and unanswerable monument of German objectivity, industry and erudition.[9] What Schliemann did for Troy and Tiryus, Döllinger did for the Reformation. The work was at once a prophecy and a fulfilment.

With the fatal breach widened, it only needed a Janssen,[10] with his careful analysis, patient investigation, cautious inference, guarded statement and a matchless architectonic skill that might be called genius, to blaze like a pillar of fire into the full domain of the German Reformation, dissipating its foggy mistiness and tearing away the whole mythical toggery which screened it from the eyes of honest thinkers. The first discharge of his well directed artillery, "with its new material, its careful selection, its width of grasp, its

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[7] *Athenæum*, 1836, p. 271. [8] "Die Reformation, ihre innere Entwickelung," etc., 3 vols. Regensburg, 1846. [9] "The fear inspiring book of Döllinger on the Reformation," says the Protestant Professor Nippold, himself a Reformation specialist, "which develops the thesis with an unapproachable knowledge of original sources, that all the Reformers were obliged to look back upon the fruit of their work with sorrow, [a historian] who has searched hundreds of contemporary writers, a whole array of forgotten names, in whose bearers we have since rediscovered important factors of the Reformation, when and where was the work ever controverted?" *Deutsch-evang. Blätter*, 1881, p. 631. [10] "Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes," 8 vols. Freiburg.

essentially popular character,"[11] laid prostrate the whole disorderly and panic-stricken squadron of legends and myths. His "crushing examination of the Luther myth" are the significant words of one of the foremost English Protestant critical journals "produced a tremendous uproar in Germany. . . . It called at once Ebrard, Köstlin, Kawerau and a host of minor disputants in the field. . . . It reached its climax in the foundation of the 'Verein für Reformationsgeschichte,' which may shortly be described as a society for the suppression of Janssen and the perpetuation of the Luther myth."[12]

The last step from the twilight of fable to the dawn of historical truth was at length taken. The attitude of Catholic historical writing was changed from the defensive to the offensive. The whole structure of German Reformation history must undergo a radical change, rehabilitation and restoration, and that, moreover, from foundation base to tower finial. Incident to the changed attitude are the cognate difficulties that affect the very existence of the Reformation, go to its very root, and which find themselves voiced in the queries of Professor Karl Pearson: "Possibly Northern Europe took a wrong step at that time; possibly the Reformation was the outcome of passion rather than of reason; possibly more good was destroyed than evil reformed"[13]—queries that not only clamor for solution, but are in the nature of an historic portent.

It is not to be inferred that Bossuet, Döllinger and Janssen were the first argonauts to set sail in quest of the historical treasure-trove buried in library, fading in manuscript or doomed to designed obscurity, that they published what was unknown and unavailable. "That the ordinary account of the Reformation and Luther" is the well-founded declaration of a reviewer already quoted, "to be found in the works of a certain class of Protestant theologians is purely mythical was a fact undoubtedly known to those historical students who had investigated the period at first hand."[14] But why not make this knowledge accessible to the common reader; why maintain a mystification about data which must and will come to light? Here it is where we find the heroism of the Catholic authors fully revealed and the sacred cause of historic truth championed. They garnered the whole harvest to the inclusion of every stray ear worth gleaning. They purged the historic accumulation of its dross and slag. They waited in weary patience until the perturbed, murky stream de-

[11] *Athenæum,* Dec., 1884, p. 729. [12] Ib. . . . "It as far surpasses Von Ranke's 'History of Germany at the Time of the Reformation,'" continues the same authority, "as the latter book itself threw historians of the calibre of Menzel in the shade." No less significant are the words of the great German historiographer Georg Waitz, maintaining that "Janssen is at present the first of living historians." This said in the lifetime of Von Ranke points its own moral. "Jahresbericht der Görres Geselschaft" für 1891, p. 22. The fact that Janssen is now in his eighteenth edition and Von Ranke in his sixth, though published in 1839-1847, shows popular appreciation as well as scholarly recognition. [13] *Athenæum,* Oct., 1883, p. 530. [14] *Athenæum,* 1884, p. 729.

posited its sediment at the bottom. Then they gave their results broadcast to the world, and in spite of howling zealotry and national fury gained a victory, they still claim, by the indefeasible rights of honest, legitimate and well earned conquest.

Keen scented, indefatigably plodding German scholarship was long aware of this hived wealth. But it likewise knew that the concealment of this wealth insured the security of the legends and prestige of the Reformation. Instinctively it felt that the promiscuous publication of this suppressed evidence would be the opening of a veritable Pandora's box, create a national ferment, a religious upheaval, an explosion of sectarian wrath. In spite of the Scriptural injunction applauding the pursuit of "whatever things are just and whatever things are true," a fatuous blindness mistaken for patriotism, a shrinking timidity to oppose single handed a century-rooted tradition, an involuntary reluctance to take the initiative in dethroning a popular deity, dwarfing a religious hero, unmasking a national saint, were not subjects of comforting contemplation. Besides, what would be gained in lifting the magic spell, the poetic romanticism that enthralled the German mind and make it voice its elegiac grief in the words of its Schiller:

> Die alten Fabelwesen sind nicht mehr;
> Das reizende Geschlecht is ausgewandert?[15]

A dim recollection of Socrates and hemlock, of Protagoras and exile, of the Damoclean sword forged in the heated fires of Augsburg —*cujus regio, illius religio*—may somewhat have shaken its pedantic stoicism. It was said of Dr. Johnson that he started in life with his fagot of opinions made up, and felt that whoever drew out a single stick weakened the whole. German tradition and nationality have their bundle of fagots, "have certain hereditary landmarks," as Lord Acton puts it, "not good to disturb, certain names too closely associated with national glory to be exposed to profanation. Luther," he continues, "is one of them, and Frederic and Goethe."[16]

The German mind was fed and nourished, became imbued and permeated with the idea that the Reformation was a divine fact in history; its birth signalized by a second Pentecostal outpouring; the instruments employed elect vessels of supernal wisdom, angelic purity, seraphic ardor, untinged by worldliness, unaffected by passion, with no human, sordid motive discoverable. This was an article of faith—the *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ*. With a unique positiveness of logic and superlativeness of rhetoric, always driving a furious pen, the Mythopœic Oligarchy never swayed until forci-

[15] The dear old fables no longer exist;
The charming race has left us.

[16] *English Historical Review*, Vol. I., p. 14.

bly driven from this fallacious position. He who would call in question the attributes of the Reformers or deny the divine mission of the Reformation placed his lever and wedge at the very foundation of Protestantism and Nationalism. He was alike traitor and apostate, disloyal to his country, blasphemous to its creed. Planck, the first and probably greatest historian of the Protestant doctrinal system, even during the last century laments that "that historical writing was branded with sacrilege which had the temerity merely to touch upon the faults of our Reformers."[17] "We Protestants," is the statement of a semi-official State publication, "are reared and nursed, as is well known, in a hatred of Papacy and in unquestioning reverence for Luther and Lutheranism. He who attacks it violates our holiest sensibilities. Even should he in single instances have right, we revolt against him and will simply not tolerate it."[18] National vanity more than religious sincerity or love of truth seems to motive the unwritten Draconian law which threatens inevitable shipwreck to the historian who must steer between the Scylla of Goethe's "poetry is the only form of truth" and the Charybdis of Von Sybel's "the historian must first be a patriot."

The biographic lacuna, as far as the critical history of Luther is concerned, becomes all the more obtrusively patent in view of the fact that few, if any single character, since the close of the Middle Ages affords more autobiographic, plastic, dramatic elements and data. Luther was no taciturn, self-absorbed misanthrope; no solitary, self-communing spirit. No one ever paid a more contemptuous heed to the golden maxim,

> Give thy thoughts no tongue,
> Nor any unproportioned thought his act.

No one ever treated with more flagrant disregard his own chosen maxim, *in silentio et spe erit fortitudo vestra.* He was not only a man of strong passions, unbending spirit, violent temper, of irregular, wayward and undisciplined will, of insurgent, radical originality, of half-formed, ever changing theories, of continually excited nerves and seething blood, but of a most blunt, fearless, brutal frankness. Morley tells us, and the *mot* is really most happy, that Carlyle compressed the Gospel of the Eternal Silence into thirty handsome volumes. Luther, who never claimed the Nirvana of silence, expanded the Gospel of Unfettered Speech into a voluminousness of library proportions. Of no man can it be more infallibly declared that "*le style c'est l'homme;*" in no man do we find the paramountcy of the personal equation more accentuated. He was fearless to the border of irresponsible rashness, blunt to the exclusion of every qualm of delicacy, audacious to the scorn of every magnanimous restraint,

[17] "Geschichte des Protestantischen Lehrbegriffs," Vol. I., p. 16. [18] *Deutsche Jahrbücker*, 1841, p. 514.

coarse beyond the power of reproducible Anglo-Saxon, lubricous to a degree that even pales Rabelaisian foulness. His was a volcanic, torrential personality. Like the eagle, he disported himself in the tempest; like the stormy petrel, he found joy in breasting the storm. He loved the blare of trumpets, the clash of arms, the din of war, the howl of embattled hosts. Even in moments of repose and tranquillity he was, to use Byron's apt illustration, a

"Slumbering earthquake pillowed on fire."

Yet blended with all these conflicting elements we discover momentary flashes of a contemplative mysticism fairly steeped in the spirit of the *Imitatio Christi;* our hearts are thrilled by occasional sublimities of a spiritual utterance that rival the most inspirational moments of the great Christian pulpit orators; glimpses of a haunting spirituality, outbursts of a sweet human tenderness strike us that are more like reflections and refrains from Assisi than the inspirations of Wittenberg.

Here we have a biographic composite, the fusion of which forms at once the delight and embarrassment, the ambition and discomfiture, the hope and despair of the historiographer.

Let us see how Protestant scholarship met this vexatious problem, first in England and America, and then in Germany.

More than eighty years ago Coleridge, probably the first Englishman to inoculate Great Britain with German thought, with that critical perception that seldom forsakes him, expresses his regret that " a life of the man Luther as well as Luther the theologian is still a desideratum in English literature, though perhaps there is no subject for which so many unused materials are extant, both printed and in manuscript."[19] Coleridge's infatuation for the German Reformer was only inferior to that of his quondam disciple Carlyle. His rare philosophic intuitions, however, evaded the task and peril of writing the Reformer's life, a pitfall into which the Sage of Ecclefechan incontinently fell. How the Prophet of the Eternal Verities felt when he heard Coleridge apostrophize Luther, "Yes, heroic swan, I love thee even when thou gablest like a goose;"[20] or when with philosophic composure he epigrammatically tells us "even in Luther's lowest imbecilities what gleams of a vigorous sense;"[21] or when hopelessly entangled in Luther's ever recurring paradoxes and inanities, "heaving the gentle misery of a sigh," to use his own words, he lays aside his book with the despairing confession, "O swan, thy cygnets are but goslings,"[22] Froude for once fails to chronicle. To the present day the desideratum has not been filled in the

[19] "Complete Works," Vol. II., p. 126. New York, 1858. [20] "Works," Vol. V., p. 301. [21] Ib. [22] Ib., 298.

English tongue, and as we will presently see, most unsatisfactorily and uncritically in the German.

D'Aubigné's translated work[23] was for a long time, and among the uncultured is yet, the source from which the English reading public drew its knowledge of Luther. His historical methods are the subject of a crushing review by Maitland.[24] He is "a Protestant of the original stamp" is the estimate of the *Edinburgh Review*,[25] "and a biographer of the old fashion, not a calm, candid, discriminating weigher and measurer of a great man's parts, but a warm-hearted champion of his glory and a resolute apologist even of his errors," . . . and continues the same writer, "he is no mean proficient in that art which reaches to perfection only in the Drama and Romance." He "is always coloring," says Mozley in his masterly essay on Luther, "and will let nothing speak for itself. . . . If the historian has no remark to make the preacher has, and the reader, harassed with an endless reiteration of small reflections and officious instructions, retaliates by regarding M. D'Aubigné as a writer a good deal more copious than weighty. His omissions in the line of fact are nearly as large, moreover, as his additions in the way of comment . . . A lively and pointed style" is his conclusion, "but he is a thoroughgoing partisan."[26]

Michelet, the French skeptic, whose religious creed Saintsbury tells us was "a mixture of sentimentalism, communism and anti-sacerdotalism," and whose violent anti-Catholic propaganda while occupying the chair of history in the College de France gave him an international notoriety, likewise gave us a life of Luther.[27] This work, written with much literary charm and emanating ostensibly from a Catholic, enjoyed a large popularity. It "hardly professes to be more than a crude and struggling performance, its composition having been the amusement of the writer during an illness. It consists principally" (we are quoting Mozley) "of passages strung together from the table talk and those parts of Luther's writings where the Reformer speaks of himself. . . . An admiration of Luther's greatness, sympathy with his genial flow of spirits and amusement at his faults and extravagances compose . . . the feeling of the impartial biographer toward his hero, and the skeptic seems to gaze with quiet pleasure upon the medley which the religious leader, saint and prophet of so many millions of Christians exhibits."[28] "There is but one French historian of the first class," writes a reviewer in the *Literary Era*, "who distorts incidents and misreads

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[23] "History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland," etc. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné. Vols. I.-III. London, 1838. [24] "The Dark Ages," p. 540 et seq. London, 1890. [25] Vol. 68, pp. 314-315. [26] "Essays, Historical and Theological," p. 322. [27] "Life of Luther," etc., translated by Hazlitt, 1846. [28] Mozley, ut sup., p. 323.

documents to establish a theory—Michelet. He owns frankly, however, that he is partial; he believed from the marrow of his soul that Catholicism had blighted the fair promise of the 'Reformation' in France, and he forced every evidence and incident to corroborate his *parti-pris.*" Critically it has no more historical value than Diedrich Knickerbocker's "History of New York."

Following D'Aubigné and Michelet, Carlyle gave us his Dorésque prose-epic,[29] a work which he himself in his "Reminiscences" classifies as "a detestable piece of prophecy and play-actorism." His morbid and melancholy introspectiveness is here flamboyantly displayed in the same lurid phrase-coining, extravagance of diction, over effusiveness of sentiment, platitudinous banalities which make his writings more bizarre than lucid, more picturesque than reliable. As far as the Catholic Church is concerned, Carlyle was congenitally handicapped by a refracting mind, one acting like water, which causes the straightest rod placed in it to appear bent and crooked. His judgment was warped, his vision distorted, his critical faculties dulled, his bile stirred, his language quivering with rage when Catholicism crossed his path. Moreover, as Mozley very pertinently reasons of Carlyle's idiosyncratic "hero-worship," "a *rationale* of heroism was not likely to tell much in English minds," he might have made the statement more generic by including all rational minds "which appealed to Mahomet, Odin, Dante, Knox, Luther, Rousseau, Dr. Johnson and Voltaire as one grand specimen of it, and which seemed to demand a complete intellectual suicide and decomposition in the recipient previous to its reception."[30] It was in these essays, according to Goldwin Smith, that Carlyle "set up a worship of force and kindled a spirit of violence totally subversive of the Sermon on the Mount." Again, it is a psychological enigma that has never been adequately explained, whether the reckless irregularity and brilliant wilfulness of a man who calls Guizot "wishy-washy," speaks of his friend Emerson as "talking moonshine," dismisses Hugo as "a glittering humbug," characterizes Newman as destitute of "the intellect of a moderate sized rabbit" and spits his venom at one of the sweetest of modern hymnologists as that "little ape called Keble," is not after all a cross between Cato and Punch; whether a prophet who in Holmes' characterization lives "with half his self-consciousness habitually centred beneath his diaphragm" is a qualified judge to give in his dyspeptic croakings a rational, just estimate of even his stable boy. No wonder "his friends sighed in silence" over the monograph which neither added to the hero's grandeur, contributed to the author's fame, enlarged mankind's knowledge or strengthened history's sanctity.

[29] "Lecture on Heroes and Hero Worship." [30] Mozley, ut sup., p. 229.

Next in order, both chronologically and in the range and extent of its circulation, is the biography issued under the ægis of the *Encyclopædia Britannica,* [31] by Professor T. M. Lindsay. The sponsorship of the great international work gives this sophomoric effort an accessibility and authority which under the most favorable conditions it could not otherwise obtain. The article is marked by an absence of original research, historic accuracy and literary distinction. It bristles with such a mass of stalking, even ludicrous blunders that a sheer sense of self-respect compelled the American publishers to issue a supplemental postscript correcting the more egregious ones. How a historian ignorant of the elementary knowledge of a language can has the courage, or rather rashness, to deal with the idiomatic plasticity, colloquial terseness, brawny vigor, coruscating invective and cyclonic sweep of Luther's cyclopean German is hard to understand. Yet here we have an historian of accredited reputation, in one of the most erudite works in the language, translate Luther's truculent letter, "*Wider die mörderischen und räuberischen Rotten der Bauern*" (Against the murderous and pillaging rabble of Peasants), "Against the murdering, robbing *rats* of Peasants!"[32]

The large work by Bayne[33] is of no conceptional originality, being slavishly Carlylean in method, diction and garrulous egotism. We do not proceed far in the work, however, before we discover that Carlyle's strength is Bayne's weakness, for no matter if the former's style excites admiration or provokes censure, it at all events always defies imitation. Even making allowance for the flashing gems of originality occasionally illumining its hazy wordiness the work adds nothing to our knowledge of Luther or gives us a more comprehensive estimate of his work. Its vagueness of narrative and lack of consecutiveness, poetical rhapsody and apostrophic interjection, basing as it does the life on a paraphrastic variation of De Wette's letters, while it leaves no clear image on the reader's mind, carries the author to the verge of cheap affectation and fuddled bathos.

The last biography, that of Dr. Jacobs,[34] in which the author may have been limited in the full exercise of his opportunities by the scope and intent of the publishers—the biography being one of a series—hardly claims more than a passing notice. While devoid of orthodox fury and theological partisanship, the work bears the marks of a compilation rather than an organic unity. Philologists would probably classify it as agglutinative, in which the author, reluctant

[31] Vol. XV., p. 75. Ninth ed. [32] The latest biography of Luther is written by Professor Lindsay ("Luther and the German Reformation," The World's Epoch Makers. Scribner, 1900.) Age and experience have not improved him, and a condensation of more blunders in the same allotted space can hardly be found. He even gives a wrong date of Luther nailing his theses on the Castle church at Wittenberg! (P. 64.) [33] "Martin Luther: His Life and Work." By Peter Bayne. 2 vols. London, 1887. [34] "Martin Luther, the Hero of the Reformation." New York, 1898.

or fearful of sustained, original and independent thought, gives us a dioramic exhibition of conventionally popular scenes pieced together. The retention of a number of exploded myths will be no contributing factor to the dignity or authority of the work. However, it is the most readable and reliable we have thus far touched upon.

As soon as we approach Germany we find ourselves compassed by a stupendous literary productivity dealing with every phase of the Reformer's character and achievements, but, paradoxical as it may seem, we search in vain for a biography which satisfies the demands of modern critical writing. In almost every instance the promise is greater than the performance. The bibliography of Luther alone, even in the last century, filled two goodly volumes,[35] to which the following century added another,[36] and no doubt the recent centennary celebration superadded another. But the absence of all objective method, critical tone and judicial fairness was, and continues of such a nature, that a restive, rebellious tendency is clearly discernible, and the jarring tones of ominous mutterings and sullen protests charge the atmosphere. German students have become suspicious, even alarmed, about their historical patrimony. Its title had been frequently challenged. Now with the vigorous, well-directed, documentarily authenticated labors of a new school threatening its utter invalidation, they demand the abolition of myth and legend, the menacing ballast that presages disaster. The Heidelberg Professor Holtzmann is not the first to sound the warning note against "a Luther myth, in which theological partisanship and at least unconscious falsification was enlisted." "Long ago" are the pregnant words of an authoritative English review, "long ago Moritz, Arndt and Bunsen complained that Germans knew nothing of the real Luther, but contemplated in his stead a thing of shreds and patches, made up of fragments of truth distorted by modern party spirit; and Weingarten in his edition of Rothe's 'Lectures on Church History'[37] anticipates that the history of the Reformation will take quite another form when it comes to be written by men who have really read Luther's writings. In the present state of literature of the Reformation history Luther . . . is the least known writer of the sixteenth century."[38]

A confirmation of this deprecatory language, which we will presently give, and more yet a cursory survey of the original sources of Luther's life, will impart to these opinions almost the validity of a demonstrable truth and prove that these Cassandra vaticinations are not groundless; that in almost every instance the biographies

[35] "Centifolium Lutheranum sive notitia literaria scriptorum omnis generis de Luthero," etc. J. A. Fabricius. 2 vols. Hamb., 1728. [36] Bibliotheca biographica Lutherana," Vogel, 1851. [37] Vol. II., p. 329. [38] *Academy*, March, 1884, p. 197.

are lamentably defective in the substantive elements of historiography; that with few exceptions their positions have been successfully impugned, others partially discredited by archival research, and many more are threatened with condign repudiation when the *Documenta Vaticana* emerge from their seclusion.

The first of the four contemporary biographers of Luther is Melanchton.[39] The work is featureless and colorless. It is more the appreciation of an affectionate friend than the foundation for subsequent biographers. Prescinding from the allusive mention it makes that Luther had his autobiography in contemplation,[40] that his mother recalled the hour and day of his birth to the oblivion of the year, it is barren of all interest and data. One unique incident it relates in all seriousness, that Luther the Reformer was a man habituated to bodily mortification and austere asceticism, "sometimes when in good health going four entire days without eating or drinking," at other times satisfying the cravings of hunger by a frugal repast on a herring and small piece of bread. This information, so irreconcilable with the accepted habits of the Reformer, in such open collision with the epicurean sentiments of his writings, so antagonistic to the natural conception of the apostle of good cheer, whose hedonistic, though perhaps apocryphal "wine, wife and song" maxim forms a prouder heritage of the German people than his whole doctrine of justification, has been wisely abandoned by most subsequent writers.[41]

The second published life was that of Mathesius,[42] a devoted friend and ardent admirer of his hero and a frequent sharer of his proverbial hospitality. Whether a life embraced in a series of seventeen plenarily inspired sermons delivered to an audience mainly composed of rustics and miners (Joachimsthal) during a period of frenzied passion—these sermons, as the author tells us, being not

[39] "Die Historie vom Leben und Geschichten des ehrwürdigen Herrn Dr. Martin Luther." The Latin biography appeared in 1546. [40] Not inapt are the reflections of a writer in the *Academy* anent this prospective autobiography . . . "it would be perfectly natural to suppose that an imagination [Luther's] which could so far gain the mastery over its possessor as to lead him to believe that he had periodical bodily conflicts with evil spirits would not fail to lend a powerful coloring to his conception of his own pet career, and even to exercise its creative faculty in the shape of definite incident." Jan., 1884, p. 53. [41] We need only recall the scene in Auerbach's cellar, ("Faust," Part I.), where the national poet places this legend in the mouth of Brant:

> Es war eine Ratt'im Kellernest,
> Lebt nur von Speck und Butter,
> Hatt sich ein Ränzlein, angemäast
> Als wie der Doctor Luther.
>
> Once in a cellar lived a rat,
> He feasted there on butter;
> Until his paunch became so fat
> As that of Doctor Luther.

[42] "Anfang, Leben, Lehr, Bekenntniss und seligen Abschied Martini Lutheri," 1565.

"a mere history, but also a consolation, a doctrine and counsel"—whether such a vehicle is the best for the transmission of authentic history is, to say the least, problematical and hazardous. Döllinger, quoting him, tells us that this worthy divine made it his mission "above all things to preach ag. inst the Papists and fearlessly expose their wickedness."[43] . . . "Our old friend Mathesius" is the comment of Bayne, "the prattling, credulous man who so dearly prized any semblance of miracle in relation to his adored friend"—"whose sincere affection for Luther engages us in his favor, but who is intellectually a child."[44] Every page gives evidence that the author unflinchingly carried out his mission, and at the same time proves Bayne a man of phenomenal perspicacity. Mathesius is the *fons et origo* of the discredited incident of Luther's "chancing upon the Latin Bible, which before during his lifetime he had never seen," and with infantile ingenuousness tells us in the same sermon that before the Reformer took his monastic vows (1506) "the convent at his solicitation presents him with a Latin Bible, which he reads with the greatest earnestness and prayerfulness and of which he memorizes much."[45] He is likewise the author of that climacteric episode where Luther hurls defiance at the Diet of Worms, "Here I stand," etc., now tottering on its unstable feet and abandoned by honest Lutheran scholars. "He prattles about the prophecies that announced Luther's birth."[46] Such a thing as eccentric vicissitudes, inconsistent passions, capricious anomalies in the life of his hero fall outside of his purview, while the satiric levity of his tongue in assailing the Papacy admirably displays his sense of historical equity and philosophical detachment.

In 1718 Ernest Solomon Cyprian discovered and published the manuscripts of the two remaining contemporary biographers of Luther, which, strange to say, lay buried for a hundred and fifty years. Myconius[47] and Spalatin[48] are cognate and coequal spirits. Both have an intellectual affinity with their predecessors; with uncritical docility, though considerable variation of narrative, they pursue the same historical methods. We hardly look, nor do we expect, a balanced adjustment of historical perception, and Carlyle's "piercing radiance of a most subtle insight" in worshiping, incense-wafting devotees.

What the twelve tables and the pontifical college, with its augurs and flamens, were to the devout Roman, these four biographic columns and their gradually surrounding peristyles were to the devout Protestant. But what if these columns are discovered to be fundamentally unsound and morally out of plumb, for columns, like men,

[43] "Die Reformation," Vol. II., p. 127. [44] Bayne, ut sup., Vol. II., pp. 66, 304. [45] "Leben," etc. Neanders ed.—8, pp. 7-9. [46] Bayne, ut sup., p. 66. [47] Frederici Myconii, "Historia Reformationis." [48] Georgii Spalatini, "Annales Reformationis."

must be upright to sustain their burdens? What if the Muse of History during this period and even to our own day was under duress? What if credulous admiration on the one hand and blind hatred on the other consciously or unconsciously guided the pen in its propagation of error and falsehood?

The unraveling of this tangled skein is the mission of modern critico-historical writing. The most hopeful sign is that Protestant writers themselves are roused to a sense of uncompromising earnestness to hasten the day of Truth's ultimate triumph.

The question naturally suggests itself have not later biographers deviated from the rut of conventionality and traditionalism and given us a fearlessly honest and conscientiously faithful, full-sized portrait of Luther?

An eminent German writer, Professor Henke, gives us little hope. "Luther's pupils almost deified their master," he writes, "and as rehearers of other men's sayings always speak in more exaggerated and boisterous language than they who use their own discretion, so these simon-pure Lutherans howled down every one who did not chime in with them in honoring the religious arbiter, who after death was elevated above all fallibility, and who did not acclaim his work the acme of perfection.[49]

We will not attempt the ordeal of threading our way through the mazy, tortuous labyrinth of the cumulative Luther literature of the last three centuries, or risk the weariness of analyzing the superseded works of Sleidan, Seckendorf, Löscher, Uckert, Meurer, Pfizer, Jürgens, Thierisch, Lang, Schenkel, etc., etc., but focalize our attention on the ripest and richest fruit of contemporaneous success. Three names give us the crystallized sublimate of the last results in this field. We may designate the coalition collectively as the Luther Dreibund, alliteratively they appear as Kolde, Kawerau and Köstlin.

By a common consensus Dr. Julius Köstlin, professor of theology at Halle, stands forth as the chosen and accredited representative of these three Horatii, and in reviewing him we review the last word that has been spoken in the cause he defends. His work[50] is the most mature, scholarly and popular biography of Luther thus far written. It is at once the norm that guides and the arsenal that equips all modern Lutheran scholars and combatants. He brought to his work an intimate, if not thorough, acquaintance with Luther's theological writings and tendencies.[51] His biography shows marked evidence of extensive reading, careful analysis, keen judgment and good taste—as far as Luther is concerned. Most of these attributes,

[49] H. P. K. Henke in Villers, "Versuch über den Geist und den Einfluss der Reformation Luthers," Vol. II., p. 79. Second ed. [50] "Martin Luther, Sein Leben und seine Schriften." 2 vols. Elberfeld, 1883. [51] "Luther's Theologie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung," etc. J. Köstlin. 2 vols., 1863.

however, forsake him when he deals with the Catholic Church. In Catholic doctrine and practice he is an irreclaimable recidivist, who, in spite of repeatedly administered critical and public penance, relapses into his habitual sins. His aversion to the Middle Ages, his toning down of Luther's scurrility while flaunting that of his outrivaled opponents, his slurring of those moot points—Luther's relation to Hutten, Sickingen and the revolutionary propaganda, Philip of Hesse's bigamy, the anti-Jewish pamphlets, the misrepresentation of Erasmus, which almost becomes a caricature—all plainly show that Froude, when he gleefully assures us that the student will leave this work "with no further questions to ask," is about as reliable a literary prophet as he is trustworthy as an historian. His attitude to the Catholic Church may best be inferred by the confession he boldly made in controversy that although he did not find in the Papacy absolute anti-Christianity, yet he detected "a progressive realization of anti-Christendom, which from the time of the Reformation even to the Council of the Vatican has made noteworthy advances." Of course, such a profession "will suffice to show," says a disinterested English writer, "that Dr. Köstlin writes rather from the standpoint of the Lutheran theologian than of the pure historian."[52] "Notwithstanding the apparatus of material cited or printed in the two volumes of the original work," we are drawing upon an equally representative authority—"the information is manifestly too exclusively from one side and the bias is throughout clearly discernible. Some of the statements," it continues, "resting solely on Luther's own authority, clash singularly with those which we find on official record; for instance, in the recently published fasciculus of the *Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranæ*."[53] "The further we continue in Dr. Köstlin's book," is the arraignment of a reviewer already quoted, "the less sympathy does the writer show with mediæval conceptions, the greater misunderstanding of Catholic doctrine. It is impossible to help feeling," and in a writer dealing with the Reformation this deficiency seems almost criminally inexcusable, "that for some reason mediæval writings have remained for him a sealed book.[54] He has represented the Church rather as it appeared to Luther than as it existed in reality in his accounts of the doctrines of penance, indulgence and invocation of saints," continues the same indictment; "he is considerably removed from the standpoint of the judicial historian."[55] His adhesion to the legends, "memorable

[52] *Athenæum*, Nov., 1883, p. 661. [53] *Academy*, Jan., 1884, p. 53. [54] "It is indispensably necessary," says Maurenbrecher, "that the status of theology between the years 1490-1519 be most carefully examined. We must tear ourselves from the caricature which we read in the writings of the Reformers—from the misunderstandings they occasioned, and to ascertain what the theologians of that time really thought and taught from their own words." "Studien und Skizzen zur Geschichte der Reformationszeit," pp. 221-222. [55] *Athenæum*, ut sup.

words" (Kraftausdrücke) which rest on unverifiable evidence, and are discarded by scholars or hang on the slenderest thread for a precarious support, have forced from Von Sybel the reluctant admission that in the biography "critical winnowing does not always keep pace with patient research. It (the biography) is not calculated to entirely set aside the later whitewashing (Uebermalung) of the real Luther picture." With the deep-rooted, firmly grafted German Luther cultus in view, the same reviewer continues in a tone of regret rather than expostulation that "a life of Luther in all directions a finality was simply an impossibility."[56] Though we may not altogether concur with the *Quarterly Review* when, in a most admirable review of Luther's life and writings, it dismisses Köstlin's work with the remark that it "is a mine of valuable information, but it is dull in style, partisan in tone and displeases by its pietistic twang,"[57] yet we cannot shake off the conviction that it most signally fails to give us the picture of the—real Luther. With a change of names Kawerau's criticism of Plitt's life of the Reformer[58] applies most appositely to Köstlin's. "With this biography," is the contention of an acknowledged Reformation specialist, "just as with many others of our Luther, the impression as far as the reviewer is concerned remains, that not the whole gnarly Luther is presented to our Evangelical populace, but a Luther glossed over and toned down in reverent love—one conjured under the influence of partisan-colored traditions intended for his justification. . . . The customary way of portraying Luther gives us a colorless picture and will always allow those who do not share our reverence for Luther to brand this method of historical writing with bias."[59]

With the historical integrity of Dr. Köstlin questioned, the vulnerable parts of his armor exposed, his partisanship forming the very jest of critical scholarship,[60] the thesis no longer remains a speculative or debatable one, but enters the domain of verifiable and verified truth.

Thus far, in order to maintain the most scrupulous objectivity, we allowed only Protestant authorities to support our attitude. Following this precedent we cannot close more appropriately or escape the suspicion of historic bias more effectually than by allowing a few eminent Protestant scholars—shining lights in church and literature—to summarize for us and bring in vivid realization the fact that mankind yet awaits the advent of the true Luther biographer.

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[56] "Historische Zeitschrift," Vol. XLI., p. 230. [57] July, 1897, p. 3. [58] "Martin Luther's Leben und Kirken." Dr. Gustav Plitt und E. F. Petersen. [59] *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Leipz., May 5, 1883. [60] Writing of the easy credulity which still swallows the Luther legend, Karl Pearson satirically allows: "It must be true; I saw it in the newspaper;" or shall we say: "I saw it in Professor Köstlin's book or Mr. Froude's essays!" *Athenæum*, Oct., 1883, p. 465.

"On the part of Protestants," writes one of Germany's great historians, Menzel, "it is an accepted maxim to represent to oneself the Reformers as lords and half saints. This prejudice is indeed broken in historically versed circles, but among the large mass of the evangelical population it is still, not, however, to the preservation of truth, maintained. It passes current as 'cultured' and is paraded as a mark of 'scientific investigation' when they (the populace) with their criticism and negation cut from even the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. But woe to him who with the torch of science invades the vestibule of the temple in which prejudice and tradition have erected the throne to the "heroes of the Reformation" and their works. The historical investigator who possesses such a foolhardiness is sure to be decried as a crypto-Catholic. . . . Whoever," he continues, "swerved from the path (of the legendary Reformation history) had to be prepared for the most shocking defamation and enmity, and must, in spite of all praise and exaltation of German impartiality, be prepared for the same to-day."[61]

About thirty years after this lament, in view of the rapid and sweeping strides historical writing made, better results were to be expected. Professor Maurenbrecher, of the Königsberg University —no sciolist in Reformation literature, but a man whose contributions permanently enriched that period and who perhaps better than any Protestant author of the century possessed the qualifications of giving us a history of the Reformation—deplores the absence of a Luther biography. "In spite of all that contemporaries, posterity, theologians and historians and publicists have written about Luther, his life, his person, his character, his theology, only the initiative steps have thus far been taken to a real history of the man, to a proper estimate of his actual significance. . . . Too great is the rubbish and garbage (der Schutt und der Unrath) which intentionally or unintentionally the prevailing theological standpoint concerning the Reformation period has inaugurated; too strong is the power of the deep-seated nonsense which one is accustomed to have offered and be satisfied with; who would flatter himself with the hope that without the most exhaustive researches the current *fable convenue* can be set aside, that without the most arduous labor the real facts can by critical methods be secured from original sources?"[62]

The Luther revival commemorating the four hundredth birthday of the Reformer, celebrated in Germany with a national hysteria of festivity and productive of an incredibly large literary output of poems, dramas, novels, music dramas, pamphlets and more preten-

[61] "Neue Geschichte der Deutschen." K. A. Menzel. Vol. II., p. 44; Vol. III., p. 3. [62] "Studien und Skizzen zur Geschichte der Reformationszeit," pp. 207-208. Leipz., 1873.

tious works, fairly glutting the book market, left the authentic Luther biography a still crying want, in spite of Kolde's, Plitt's and Köstlin's efforts. In 1896 Professor Krogh-Tonning, of the Christiania University, and the most prominent and admittedly commanding theologian in Norway, raises his voice in indignant protest that historic verity should still be stifled by romance and myth. "There are two Luthers" is his stressful language—"a mythical and historical. Usually one occupies oneself with the mythical one decked out in all perfections. . . . The saddest feature of this Luther *cultus* is the demand that the man (Luther) should claim exemption from all judgments regulating the universal moral standards. All should be excused in him. To quote his own words, where they are unpardonable, is looked upon as a downright libel. . . . It is strictly orthodox to designate his most offensive language as heroic faith. Here the *cultus* simply becomes disgusting. If a courageous soul should make a mild attempt with the one hand to portray the true Luther, he can only escape the danger of giving scandal by placing at the same time with the other hand the aureole of sanctity on Luther's head."[63]

As a representative of the cultured lay and political element in Germany few names are more honored and carry greater weight than that of George Frederic Kolb. A publicist, statistician, sociologist, editor of two of the most influential German papers,[64] his name became a household word. "A proper judgment of the man who above all was the leading spirit of the Reformation," is his statement of the case, "was until recently hardly possible, because not only were most writers prejudiced by this or that confessionalism, but because Luther, almost like a Catholic saint, became a legendary character, so that a proper estimate, based on the evidence of well-established facts, was absent. . . . Luther's was a violent, despotic nature. The right he assumed for himself he unhesitatingly denied to others. His will was to be the only standard. . . . The 'Man of God,' the supernatural spirit, in which character he is represented—Luther was only in legend."[65]

Two vital truths impress themselves upon the mind of the thoughtful reader in weighing and measuring the full import of what has been discussed; the first is emphatic, if not indisputable: that in the words of Maurenbrecher "there exists to-day not one work which can honestly, with a safe conscience, be recommended as a scientific biography; yes, judging from the present condition of affairs, there is little prospect that a good 'life of Luther' can be written in the

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[63] "Der Protestantismus in der Gegenwart" (translation), p. 77. Berlin, 1896.
[64] *Frankfurter* and *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung.* [65] "Kultur Geschichte der Menschheit," Vol. II., p. 316 et seq. Leipz., 1873.

near future;"[66] the second not less significant and provocative of serious reflection, when an English critic tells us "that some day possibly a history of the Reformation may be written by an impartial historian," and "that it will paint Luther as the reverse of an apostle."[67]

H. G. Ganss.

Carlisle, Pa.

[66] Ut sup. [67] *Athenæum*, 1884, p. 726.

Scientific Chronicle.

MAXIMITE.

The tests made at Sandy Hook of the new explosive, the invention of Hudson Maxim, place it first among high explosives. Like Lyddite, Maximite is a picric acid compound, but while the former is very sensitive to shock, the latter is remarkably insensitive.

The tests to which the Government put a new explosive before accepting it are very severe. First, perfect stability is required, and this is tested by subjecting it to a severe heat test for 15 minutes. Secondly, it must be insensitive to shock. This is determined by the height from which a heavy hammer must fall to explode it. Next its explosive force is determined. A shell is filled with the material and a powerful exploder, set off electrically, is used to explode it. The number and shape of the fragments into which the shell is broken indicate the explosive force. If satisfactory up to this point, then an armor-piercing shell is filled with it and the shell is fired through a nickel steel plate almost thick enough to stop the shell. If the explosive stands this shock, where the entire velocity of the shell is checked in passing through the plate, there will be no danger in projecting it from ordnance at any desired velocity.

Maximite withstood all these tests most satisfactorily. Melted cast iron may be poured upon Maximite without danger of exploding it. A 12-inch steel armor-piercing shell weighing 1,000 pounds was filled with the new explosive. By means of a detonating fuse, electrically fired, the Maximite was exploded. So great was the force of the explosion that 7,000 fragments of the shell were recovered. A 12-inch shell containing 70 pounds of Maximite was fired through a 7-inch Harveyized nickel steel plate and recovered from the sand-butt behind the plate. When this proved that it was insensible to the shock, a time fuse was attached to a similar charge and it was fired through a 5¾-inch plate. The shell exploded when it was about half way through the plate. The plate was shattered into fragments and the abutment demolished. The time fuse used is capable of withstanding the shock of the projectile against the armor plate and is intended to detonate the charge immediately after the shell pierces the armor. This requires delicate adjustment; the timing is gauged to hundredths of a second. It is better that the shell should explode in the plate than one hundred yards beyond. The best results would come from an explosion just as the shell comes through the plate. But the experiment referred to shows that

Maximite exploded in the armor of a battleship would put it out of action.

The *Scientific American* for May 25, 1901, thus describes what was the most interesting test of the series, "when a 12-inch mortar shell, known as the torpedo shell, was fired from a 12-inch seacoast rifle at full velocity and pressure, with a charge of brown prismatic gunpowder. The shell carried 143 pounds of Maximite, was armed with a fuse and fired through a sand-crib faced with heavy timbers. The velocity of the projectile was probably about 2,100 feet per second, and as the column of explosive was four feet long, the shock of acceleration upon the Maximite must have been very severe, although not comparable, of course, with the shock on even a much shorter column in penetrating heavy armor plate. This was the largest charge of high explosive ever thrown from a powder gun in a service shell and at service pressure and velocity. The projectile exploded just as it emerged from the back side of the crib. The projectile was broken into very small fragments, averaging from the size of a rifle ball to several ounces. A crow and a ground sparrow were struck upon the wing and brought down from the sky by the flying fragments and fell near the sand-crib, the sparrow falling directly into the crater, a result which suggests the completeness of the fragmentation."

This new explosive has a low fusing point, namely, 174 degrees F., considerably below the boiling point of water. When heat is applied it first melts and then evaporates. So that a building filled with it might take fire and burn to the ground without any danger of explosion.

The success of the aerial torpedo implies a complete change in our war vessels. Mr. Maxim, writing in the *Popular Science Monthly* March, 1901, says: "The war vessel that must follow as a natural result of the success of the aerial torpedo will be an unarmored, or only partially armored, gunboat or cruiser of small dimensions, capable of traveling at very high speed. It will be a sort of floating gun platform, and will cost only a fraction of what the battleship costs, while a single one of these gunboats will afford far more protection than the most powerful battleship."

THE TELEPHONOGRAPH.

Among the many improvements in the phonograph since its invention by Edison, that of M. Waldemar Poulsen is perhaps the most interesting. The familiar way of making a phonographic record is by means of a stylus attached to the under side of a diaphragm and

bearing upon a surface of wax or soft metal. The diaphragm is set in vibration by the sound waves and the stylus moving with it indents the moving surface upon which it bears. These indentations form the record. When the stylus is passed over this record, the diaphragm is set in vibration and the sound is reproduced.

In the ordinary phonograph the record is a mechanical one. In the improved form of Mr. Poulsen the record is magnetic. A steel wire is wound spirally upon a cylinder, with a clear space between the coils of the helix. A small electro-magnet is adjusted so that its poles are close to but not in contact with the wire. This electro-magnet is so mounted that it can travel axially along the spiral. A telephone transmitter and a battery are placed in a circuit with the electro-magnet.

To make a record the operator speaks into the telephone transmitter. The vibrations of the diaphragm cause variations in the electric current passing through the circuit and hence vary the magnetization of the electro-magnet and consequently produce corresponding variations in the magnetization of the spiral steel wire, in front of which the magnet passes. This steel wire then holds the record in the varying degrees of magnetization along its length.

When the operation is reversed every variation in the magnetization of the wire produces a corresponding change in the magnetic intensity of the core of the electro-magnet. These changes induce electric pulsations in the circuit and these pulsations bring about a vibration of the diaphragm of the transmitter similar to those with which it moved to produce the record, and thus the sound is reproduced.

Among the advantages claimed for this form of record are superior faithfulness to the original and durability without the slightest deterioration. Experiments have shown that after 10,000 repetitions of a record had been made there was no appreciable weakening in the reproduction.

The wire may be passed before several receivers and the record sent to different telephone stations. Such an arrangement might also be employed as a telephone relay for long distance lines, the record made at the end of one section being delivered into the transmitter of the next. When this is done the phonograph will assume a commercial importance. In this connection we may call attention to Mr. Edison's improved record for the well-known form of instrument.

The wax record was undoubtedly a great improvement on the tin-foil one, but still it deteriorates under frequent repetitions and it is easily scratched or broken. A recent patent issued to Mr. Edison is for an improved record. Mr. Edison takes a copper

electroplate of a wax record. This copper relief of the record is electroplated with silver, the silver, of course, taking the same form as the original record. The copper is then dissolved away by an acid. Before the copper electroplate is made the wax cylinder is revolved in a high vacuum, through which an electric discharge is passing between gold electrodes. Under these conditions the wax cylinder is subjected to a shower of gold dust from the terminals, and this dust adheres to it, forming a uniform coating of excessive thinness. As this gold is not affected by the acid when the copper is eaten away, we have a gold-plated silver record. The silver shell may be backed up by other material, the hard metal surface holding the permanent record.

PURITY OF ALCOHOLIC LIQUORS.

Last fall several cases of arsenical poisoning in Manchester, England, led to an investigation of the cause, which disclosed that it was due to a certain brand of beer. In brewing this beer the manufacturers used glucose of a certain make. This glucose was made by means of a sulphuric acid which had been made from pyrites containing, as is almost always the case, arsenic. Prior to this the sulphuric acid employed had been made from sulphur. The chain of evidence was complete and established the fact that the arsenic in the beer came from the pyrites and in sufficient quantity to produce the evil effects witnessed.

The examination brought out the difficulty of detecting arsenic in beer and disclosed the fact that the most reliable test is that of Reinsch. The beer is acidified strongly with pure hydrochloric acid and boiled with a piece of clean copper foil. The black deposit on the copper is sublimated in a glass tube and the appearance of a sublimate of bright octahedral crystals of arsenious oxide is an evidence of the presence of arsenic in the beer.

Another result of these investigations is the necessity of watching more closely the manufacture of many products used in pharmacy and in the manufacture of which sulphuric acid is used. These results have led to a further study of the injurious constituents of distilled liquors. The researches of Dujardin-Beaumetz some twenty years ago showed that the toxic action of pure ethyl alcohol was zero. Hogs kept in a state of continual intoxication for the space of three years, on being allowed to sober up, were in perfect health, and after slaughtering showed no lesions of any organ. This, however, was the case when absolutely pure liquor was used. When, however, ordinary spirits were fed to the hogs, they quickly

succumbed, showing lesions, especially of the liver, similar to those in the case of human inebriates.

The conclusions drawn from these experiments by Dujardin-Beaumetz was that the toxic action was due to the presence of higher alcohols, especially amyl alcohol, the chief ingredient of fusel oil. The experiments made lately by Sir Lander Brunton seem, on the other hand, to prove that the presence of fusel oil in such quantities as it usually occurs is not a menace to public health. The greatest danger comes from furfural and other similar aldehydes which come from the husk of the grain. Furfural is present in all whiskies, but in quantities it is found especially in those made by modern processes, where the distillation is pushed to its furthest limit, so as to obtain the greatest amount of liquor possible per bushel of grain. In Brunton's experiments animals intoxicated with liquor from which furfural had been removed showed no bad effects when they sobered up, while those made drunk with liquor containing furfural did. The "bracers" used after intoxication seem to point to furfural as the source of the evil effects. All these "bracers" contain ammonia or similar compound, which chemically combine with the furfural and neutralizes its effects.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

The discussions growing out of the building of an Isthmian Canal bring to light grave questions, which demand that hasty partisan advocacy of any particular route must yield to an enlightened study of all the difficulties of the situation if we are to reach a solution in accordance with sound engineering and commercial principles. Of late M. Bunau-Varilla, a distinguished French engineer, has been lecturing on the subject, and the *Railroad Gazette* gives many telling extracts from these lectures. While the lecturer discussed comparative length, curvature, magnitude, cost and conditions of stability, still he lays special stress on the discussion of the seismic disturbances which will be an important factor affecting the stability of the canal. The discussion concerns only the two routes of which there is question, Panama and Nicaragua.

According to M. Bunau-Varilla, "in Panama there is within a distance of 180 miles from the canal no volcano, even extinct." Nicaragua, on the contrary, has always been the theatre of earthquakes. At Panama the isthmus has not been modified since the quarternary period. At Nicaragua the lake was formerly a gulf in the Pacific and is associated with the most terrible volcanic eruption

ever recorded in history before that of Krakatoa. "The explosion of the volcano Coseguina in 1835 lasted forty-four hours, the noise was heard at a distance of 1,000 miles, the ashes were brought 1,400 miles by the wind. During these forty-four hours the volcano ejected every six minutes a volume of stone and ashes equal to the total volume of the prism of the Nicaragua Canal, as it was calculated by the Nicaragua Canal Commission and which will necessitate eight years of excavation."

The volcano Omotepe, which is continuously active and which was in violent eruption in 1883, is in the centre of Lake Nicaragua. Besides these two volcanoes there are several others on the shore of the lake or in the neighborhood which are at present active or have recently been so.

Mr. Bertrand, of the Institute of France, a distinguished geologist, has recently established two facts. First, Lake Nicaragua is one of the lines of least resistance in Central America, and hence the site of earthquake disturbances. Secondly, the subterranean fire is going south and increasing in Nicaragua. There was a gain of five per cent. in the number of explosions or earthquakes recorded in Nicaragua during the nineteenth century over preceding centuries. No volcanoes have become extinct in Nicaragua, but a new one, Las Pilas, was born in 1850.

These facts require careful consideration, for a fissure in a dam made by a seismic disturbance or a tidal wave in the lake due to the same cause would mean the destruction of the whole work.

NOTES.

Geology and the Deluge.—In the June number of *McClure's Magazine* Dr. Frederick G. Wright, of Oberlin College, gives an interesting and instructive account of a geological trip through Central Asia and Southern Siberia. The writer went to study the evidences of the "Ice Age" in Asia, but contrary to his expectations, he found none either in Central Asia or Southern Siberia. The geological conditions which confronted him in these regions were such that the only explanation that would fit them was that of an extensive submergence of the region where Scripture and tradition locate the Flood that destroyed the whole human race except Noah and his family. After describing his itinerary and pointing out some of the evidence for the submergence that extends from Mongolia to the western borders of Russia, the writer has this to say on the relation of these discoveries to the Bible narrative of the Deluge: "Our belief

in the occurrence of the Noachian deluge must always rest primarily on the historical evidence, and only secondarily on the scientific. A flood of the short duration described in the Book of Genesis could not be expected to leave any permanent record in the superficial deposits made during its continuance. The most which science can do is to remove the objections which she herself has raised. These objections have principally been in the line of showing that such changes of level as are implied in the story of the flood are so highly improbable that scarcely any amount of human testimony could establish the fact. What the recent discoveries have shown is that during and subsequent to the glacial period, and since the advent of man, there has existed such an instability of the earth's crust that the present cannot be made a measure of the past. Man has certainly witnessed catastrophes by flood which are quite analogous to the one described in Genesis."

Hydrogen in the Atmosphere.—For a number of years past the researches of Gautier have tended to establish the fact, now admitted, that hydrogen is a normal constituent of the atmosphere. Dewar, in England, has condensed hydrogen directly from the atmosphere, and Gautier has made quantitative determinations of the amount in different localities. Some of these results show that in Paris hydrogen is not a constant quantity in the air. In forest air only traces of hydrogen were found, while at a certain mountain station in the Pyrenees seventeen volumes were found to the 100,000 of air. At a sea station on the coast of Brittany two volumes of the gas were present in 10,000 of air. The source and function of atmospheric hydrogen are as yet unknown. A more careful determination of the boiling point of hydrogen recently made by Dewar places it at —252.5 degrees, or about 20 degrees above the absolute zero.

Wireless Telegraphy.—In our last Chronicle we referred to a useful application of wireless telegraphy in warning ships from danger points along coasts, and in time of fog, of each other's approach. In tests recently made at the mouth of the Thames the efficiency of such a system was clearly proved. In these tests the shore station was established at Shoeburyness. A steam launch provided with a receiving instrument put off from South End. A stiff breeze was blowing and a thick fog hung over the water. When the launch stood about eight miles out to sea they began to work the apparatus on shore. The zone of influence of this apparatus extended only seven miles from shore. The launch put about and moved shorewards. As soon as it came within the sphere of influence of the shore instruments the bell on the launch began to ring, and at the same time the word "Southend," the danger point, was printed on

the tape machine. The vessel then repeatedly put out to sea and left the field of influence to return to it at different points. But whenever it entered the field of influence the instruments received the warnings from the shore station. The trials lasted two hours, and the instruments never once failed.

Development of Photographs.—Up to a very recent date we have so associated the dark-room with the development of photographs that it was regarded as absolutely indispensable. Professor Nipher, of St. Louis, has rudely shattered this belief by showing that the most sensitive photographic plate may be manipulated in open day and perfect pictures developed upon them in sunlight. The plate may be carried out into the sunlight, unwrapped, placed in the holder and after exposure in the camera taken from the holder and put into the developing bath in full daylight and there developed. To develop pictures in this way the exposure in the camera must be longer than when they are to be developed in the dark-room. Pictures developed in sunlight are positives, while those developed in the dark-room are negatives. The distinction between the two is that the shadows show light in the negative and dark in the positive. Professor Nipher has also shown that no plate need ever be lost on account of over-exposure. When the exposure has been so great that the development cannot be controlled in the dark-room, it may be developed in the light, even if a million times over-exposed. The best results have been obtained by a hydrochinone developer.

Phototherapy.—This is the name given to the new art of healing certain skin diseases by means of solar radiations. It is well known that these radiations are not confined to the luminous ones which give us the visible spectrum. Below the red we have calorific radiations, so called because their presence is readily detected by an increase in temperature. Beyond the violet there are radiations which are especially characterized by the chemical effects they produce. The calorific rays have been employed in the treatment of small-pox patients. The theory underlying the treatment was that in this erruptive affection the irritation of the skin was due to the action of the chemical rays. By cutting off these rays and allowing only red light to reach the patient the inflammatory effects of the eruption are reduced to a minimum, as has been proved by experiment. These results suggested the possibility of using the chemical rays to cure certain skin diseases that are parasitic, the chemical violet radiations being destructive of the microbes. Professor Finsen, of Copenhagen, was the first to practically test the efficiency of this treatment. Professor Finsen has especially directed his experiments to the cure of lupus. In practice the solar rays are filtered through lenses filled

with water that has been colored blue. Through such lenses only the chemical rays pass, and they are directed on the affected part of the patient to be treated. Electric light may be employed instead of sunlight. It is reported that up to the 1st of January, 1900, out of 462 cases treated for lupus, Professor Finsen had 311 cures. The reason given for the number of cures not being greater was that in the other cases the treatment was interrupted for one reason or another. It is further stated that only four cases proved refractory under the treatment. That the experimental stage of phototherapy is passed seems clear from this success and from the fact that MM. Lortet and Genoud, of the Faculty of Medicine of Lyons, have introduced the Finsen methods with like success.

Solar Eclipse of May 18, 1901.—The weather conditions prevailing at many of the stations selected to observe the total solar eclipse were unfavorable. For the American observers Professor Todd reports from Singkel, Sumatra, that the sky was cloudy and that during the total eclipse no instruments could be operated except the polariscope and the X-ray apparatus. Professor Burton, in charge of the party from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, telegraphs that the weather was cloudy during a portion of the eclipse, but that all four contacts were observed and at totality a brilliant corona was visible for nearly six minutes. Photographs were taken and the shadow bands also were observed photographically. The observers at the Government Royal Alfred Observatory at Mauritius report that the first contact was lost, but the other three were determined fairly well. Fifty-two photographs of the corona were obtained during totality. Forty-one photographs of partial phases were also made. During totality eighteen photographs of the spectrum were also secured. In addition a kinematographic record of the eclipse was secured. The Greenwich instruments, set up about six miles from the coast of Sumatra, were, as in the case of Professor Todd's, idle on account of cloudiness. The Dutch party in the same neighborhood reports that throughout the time of eclipse the sky was covered with thin clouds. The observations at Solok were almost a total failure. At Singapore the eclipse was very well seen and series of observations on temperature variations made. The temperature in full sun before eclipse was 143 degrees and during totality it fell to 81 degrees. At this writing no detailed account of the results is at hand.

Pine Needles.—The needles from the yellow Oregon pine are the source of a new industry on the Pacific Coast. The leaves of this pine average twenty inches in length. The oil extracted from these leaves and the fiber are both in demand. Those suffering from

asthma obtain relief from the use of the oil, and it is claimed that insomnia is cured by sleeping on pillows stuffed with the fragrant fiber of the pine leaf. Stripping the pine of its leaves has been pronounced beneficial to the tree by the expert of the Forestry Commission. Two crops are gathered yearly, one in April and one in October, the latter being the larger. Men and women are employed to strip the leaves from the trees and receive 25 cents per hundred pound of the pine needles. They average about $1.25 per day. The present factory can handle 2,000 pounds of leaves daily, and the yield in oil from this amount is ten pounds. It requires about four days to prepare the fiber, to steam, to wash and to dry it. If no oil has been distilled from the leaves, the fiber is of a better quality and brings about ten cents a pound in the market. The fiber may be woven into fabrics. Mixed with hair it is used for mattresses and pillows. It is also employed as a partial filler for cigars. The oil is used for scenting toilet soaps and flavoring candies. This industry has come from Germany. There the laws are more stringent. In some places they may use only the needles that have fallen on the ground. These dead leaves give an inferior oil and fiber. Hence it is clear that this industry will grow where the stripping of the profitable green leaves from the pine is regarded as beneficial to the tree.

New Edison Storage Battery.—The storage battery has already secured a permanent place in the work of direct current central stations. But the cell in use is the Plante lead cell of 1860. Mr. Edison has now brought out what seems to be the first successful improvement in the storage battery. He started out to make a cell that would not deteriorate by work, that would have a large capacity per unit of mass, that could be rapidly charged and discharged, that could stand careless treatment and would be inexpensive. He claims these advantages for his new storage cell. The cell is a nickel-iron cell. The iron is the positive element and a superoxide of nickel is the negative element of the cell. The electrolyte or liquid is a twenty per cent. solution of potassium hydroxide. The positive plate consists of cakes made of a finely divided compound of iron and graphite, formed under hydraulic pressure and supported by a steel framework, into which they fit. The cakes in the negative plate are of a finely divided nickel compound and graphite. The graphite does not take part in the chemical action. Its function is to increase the conductivity of the cakes or briquettes in the two plates of the cell. In action the cell is an oxygen lift. In charging, oxygen is carried from the iron plate to the nickel, and in discharge it falls back to the iron on account of greater chemical affinity. In

Mr. Kennelly's description of this cell before the Institute of Electrical Engineers, New York, May 21, 1901, the energy of the cell is expressed by says that the energy furnished at its terminals is sufficient to lift the weight of the cell approximately seven miles against the force of gravity. The well-known lead storage cell could lift its own weight from two to three miles only. Among the other advantages of this cell may be mentioned structural strength due to the steel which replaces the weak, heavy lead of the old type. There is also a gain in the new cell on account of the fact that no period of formation or incubation is required as was the case with the lead cell. As soon as the salts are inserted in the steel framework the plate is ready for charging in the ordinary way. In the old style efficiency of the cell fell off partly on account of the acid being used up, but in the new cell the alkaline solution does not enter into the chemical action. The plates may be removed after charging and dried in the air without impairing their efficiency, for on being put back into the liquid they act at once and normally on charge and discharge. Even when the plate has been reversed by sending the current in the wrong direction, and it is again brought back, it works as well as ever, showing that it can withstand considerable abuse. We must, however, await the action of this cell under practical conditions as soon as the inventor will be able to put it in the market.

D. T. O'Sullivan, S. J.

Boston, Mass.

Book Notices.

IN THE BEGINNING (Les Origines). By *J. Guibert, S. S.*, Superior of the "Institute Catholique" of Paris and formerly Professor of Science at Issy. Translated from the French by G. S. Whitmarsh. 12mo., pp. xvi., 379. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This work was written by the reverend author for his pupils at Issy, while he was professor of science at that institution. Speaking of his intention in composing the work, he says: "Having to give instructions on natural sciences to young philosophers, I found it impossible to confine myself to the experimental and practical part only; it was necessary to go back to first causes, and treat of such questions as the study of nature invariably raises in thoughtful minds."

It is necessary for young ecclesiastics to propagate the faith and defend it against all attacks, and since none of its enemies are bolder than Materialists, who make great progress with the ignorant and wrongly educated, because they appeal to the natural sciences and claim that they contradict Christian revelation, it is most important that defenders of the faith should be able to meet them on their own ground. What is more common than the assertion that faith is opposed to science? It is repeated so often that it is pretty generally accepted. Those who believe in the truths of Christian revelation are looked upon as narrow-minded and unprogressive. It is so easy to make a show of learning and to move the crowd by ridicule.

Those who are firmly grounded in their faith are not troubled by the vain show of their enemies, and as it is not possible for all to inform themselves on such matters, they very wisely fall back on their infallible guide and the divinely appointed custodian and interpreter of God's word, the Church. They know that He cannot err because He is truth, and that she cannot err because she is guided by Him, and that truth cannot contradict truth, and hence that the opposition between science and revelation is apparent only. Persons on both sides often deceive themselves by supposing that faith and science teach things which they do not teach at all. Hence also apparent contradictions. There cannot be any real contradiction. In order to make this truth clear, the author of the work before us has prepared it. He says:

"Materialists have for some time had great weight with the people, because they alone (almost) had strengthened their position with the aid of science. It is also most essential that the young clerics should be wanting in no knowledge concerning humanity, and that they

should be able to give incontestible proof of their competence, both in order to obtain a hearing when they speak and also that they may learn to speak with accuracy and power. Not only have they nothing to lose in the study of human sciences, but their apostolic ministry will benefit by the earnest endeavors they have made to inform themselves on these matters. Science is not the exclusive right of one particular school of thought; it renders up its secrets to those who study it with care. It is by a mistaken construction that it is made to serve the ends of materialism and atheism. In causing it to add its testimony to the glories of the Author of Nature learned Catholics would make science forward its legitimate object."

Of course, the book does not pretend to be an exhaustive scientific treatise, nor does it treat of exegesis or dogma. The author's purpose is to give to theologians and exegetists sufficient data to enable them to interpret correctly texts dealing with psychical and physical origins.

He has been careful to keep before his mind the requirements of the class for which he writes, and to avoid the two great dangers that confront a writer on this subject, namely, an unwarrantable compliance with theories in favor among the learned, and a blind attachment to certain ideas which have no firm foundation, but which some men erroneously consider as identical with the faith.

"In order to maintain the *via media*," he says, "which truth frequents, I imposed on myself the three following obligations: Honestly explain systems, even those which I have to oppose; assert with firmness what is well established; leave the questions open which have not yet received a solution."

One can see at a glance the excellence of this plan. It has been faithfully followed. The work is unusually well arranged, clear and convincing. Each chapter is begun with a statement of the question; the false system is described, and the arguments of its defenders are stated; then follows the true system with the arguments to prove it, and the whole is closed with a summary, followed by a bibliography. This last feature is particularly commendable, not only because of its great value, but because of its rarity.

The book is illustrated with very good engravings that will help the reader very much. Altogether it is a very satisfying work, and one that can be recommended without hesitation to do all that it promises.

THE HISTORY OF THE JESUITS IN ENGLAND, 1580-1773. By *Ethelred L. Taunton*, author of "The English Black Monks of St. Benedict," etc. 8vo., pp. x., 513, illustrated. London: Methuen & Co.

This is one of the notable books of the year. Its author is a Catholic priest who has been devoting his time to historical work,

and who has appeared before the public on several occasions, probably most prominently when he published his "History of the Black Monks of St. Benedict." He is evidently a hard student and a constant writer. But these are not the only qualifications required in a historian; indeed, one might say that these are the least important. If the writer be not a person of good judgment; if he be not able to hold the scale in his hand without inclining in the least to one side or to the other; if he have a grievance to air or a wrong, real or imaginary, to avenge; if he be easily swayed by likes and dislikes, or if he hold a brief for any client, whether king or subject, community or nation, then his industry will work harm to himself and others.

There are many historical writers, but few historians. Some are bad from the start, and should never have begun; others begin well, but fail as they go on; a few succeed until the end, and then spoil all by false reasoning.

Father Taunton has chosen an important subject this time. The sons of Ignatius are never lay figures on the stage of any country; they are star actors whenever they appear. This is true of every country and every age since their foundation; but it is particularly true of England during the two centuries which ended in 1773. During the persecutions which were carried on under successive sovereigns they were active figures, several of them laying down their lives for the faith.

It is very clear from the first page of the preface to Father Taunton's History that he is against the Jesuits. On that page he declares that in England "The Jesuits, as a body, stood for the Catholic Reaction, from first to last a political expedient. The clergy, on the other hand, contented themselves with the course of religion." From that point until the end he pictures them as tricky, unscrupulous men, scheming always for the advancement of the society, and not hesitating to trample on others in order to advance their own interests. They are accused of lying, even under oath. They are held up as traitors plotting to unseat a rightful sovereign and give his throne to a usurper. Their actions may seem good sometimes, and their declarations of purpose sincere, but this historian can always prove, at least to his own satisfaction, that they are not to be trusted. He is willing to take the word of their enemies against them almost without exception; he quotes some authorities who are really not worth mentioning; and he makes accusations at times without giving the authority at all, or without giving the place from which the quotation is taken. When factions speak in their favor their motives are always questioned. In his anxiety to down them he forgets his premises sometimes when drawing his conclusions.

For two reasons especially he condemns them: because, he says, they were opposed to the secular clergy, and because they wished to

place a Spaniard on the English throne. We cannot find any good reason for either assertion. If any misunderstanding arose between the secular clergy and the Jesuits, it does not follow at all that the latter were ambitious for the places which the former occupied, or that they wished to gain the ascendency over them in order to gratify their desire to rule, nor has it been proved. If they tried to bring about the succession of a sovereign who would treat Catholics fairly, they were justified in using all lawful means to that end. We cannot find that they went any further.

It is important in judging men to take an account of all their circumstances: time, place, education, training, customs and manners—all must receive due consideration. This Father Taunton failed to do when writing his history of the Jesuits in England.

We had intended to quote from the book, but the general tone is so biased that limited quotations would not serve our purpose. We are sorry to have to speak so severely of a work which is evidently the result of much time and labor, and which might have done very great good. We are afraid that it will do great harm. The writer of it has whetted a knife for the enemy. At this very time when French infidels are warring on the religious orders and when the Venerable Head of the Church stretches forth his aged arm in their defense, this book comes with very bad grace indeed from the pen of one of our own household.

THE BIBLE AND RATIONALISM; or, Answer to Difficulties of the Bible. Completely revised and greatly enlarged. By *Rev. John Thein*. Four volumes, royal octavo. Vol. I., Answers to Difficulties in the Books of Moses. Vol. II., Answers to Difficulties in the Historical, Didactic, Sapiential and Prophetical Books of the Old Testament. Vol III., Answers to Difficulties in the Books of the New Testament. Vol. IV., Answers to Difficulties in the Mosaic, Cosmogony, Anthropology and Biblical Chronology.

Father Thein's work is already well known in a former edition. Its many excellencies have been recognized and it has received a warm welcome from all thoughtful persons who believe in divine revelation, irrespective of creed. The general Catholic reader learned from it that the sneers of the infidel and the scoffer are the result of ignorance and not of learning. These did not understand this wonderful book of the Sacred Scriptures; they had not time nor inclination nor ability to study it; their pride prevented them from submitting their judgment to the divinely appointed interpreter of it; their vicious lives tempted them to deny the authenticity of the law and even the existence of the law giver.

Protestants were not slow to see in it an effectual weapon against those who sought to destroy their sole rule of faith. Even if by some almost impossible accident every copy of the Sacred Scrip-

tures were destroyed, the Catholic would have the Church to guide him, which existed before the Bible was written, under whose direction it was made and who alone can vouch for its genuineness; but the Protestant would be left without any guide and would be forced to accept the direction of the Church of Christ, which indeed he now does, although perhaps unconsciously.

For the Protestant the most important thing in religion is the Bible. He ought to be very jealous of it, and he ought to defend it against all attacks. He, more than any one else, should welcome every weapon of defense against the enemies of the Sacred Text, and hence he should appreciate Father Thein's book.

Evn those who have no practical religion, but who live rightly according to the natural law, should stand for divine revelation, because the natural law is founded on the divine, and should join hands with the defenders of the faith against those who would destroy all faith and necessarily all true morality.

These thoughts help us to understand the value of the work before us. All right minded persons acknowledge the importance of the Sacred Scriptures because they contain God's communications to man. All believe in them because they have stood the test of ages and because they have been preserved by the Church, the appointed custodian of them. All know that the attacks of the present are futile, as were the attacks of the past, and that there is an answer to every objection that can be brought forward. It is not possible, however, for each person to find the answers to these objections, because the necessary time, ability, mental training, education and opportunity are not at the command of every one. All men do not try to master the difficulties of medicine, law, astronomy and other sciences. Why, then, should all be expected to fit themselves to grasp the full meaning of the Sacred Text, which is professedly difficult and which requires more knowledge than any of the sciences, and indeed presupposes a mastery of several of them? Hence the importance of a guide, and we have a good one in the book under review.

It is not perfect, for the perfect book is as rare as the perfect man; but it is a work that was very much needed and that should be well patronized. It may be well to note that the volumes are distinct and may be purchased singly, although we imagine that most readers will want the complete set.

A Day in the Cloister. Adapted from the German of Dom Sebastian Von Oer, O. S. B., of St. Martin's Abbey, Beuron. By Dom Bede Camm, O. S. B., of St. Thomas' Abbey, Erdington. 12mo, pp. 291. St. Louis: B. Herder.

The world knows little about monks and monasteries. It thinks that it knows a great deal. It has asked many questions about them,

and they have been answered by persons who, unable or unwilling to learn the truth, have told lies. The world gets most of its notions about monks and monasteries from novelists, and poets, and artists, who draw mainly on their imagination, and place before their patrons fiction and caricature instead of fact and truth.

And yet there are in the world many persons who wish to know the truth about this subject—not only Catholics, but Protestants and unbelievers. Thinking persons who have any knowledge of history at all must realize that those monasteries which were the centres of industry, learning, prayer and charity, and which in many instances became the foundations of important universities and cities, could not have been the work of lazy, ignorant, licentious and bibulous monks.

For the benefit of fair-minded searchers after truth, a Benedictine monk has written down in the volume before us a description of a monastery in the present day. Not a ruined, deserted monastery, such as the traveler sees so often in Italy, France and England, but one full of life and energy. He introduces the reader into all its parts; presents him to the different persons who dwell in it, and shows him the work that is done there. There is no mystery, no secret, no fiction, no poetry, but the plain unvarnished truth.

He who makes this visit under the guidance of the author will be well repaid for his trouble. He will see a Christian household modeled on the home at Nazareth. He will behold a true Christian community founded on the precepts and maxims of Christ. He will not find the lazy, dirty, wicked monk of so-called history and miscalled art, but on all sides he will be edified by the pictures of industry, prayer and virtue that are presented to him.

We wish most heartily that we could get this book into the hands of those poor deluded souls who hunger for the stories of converted priests and escaped nuns, but this is too much to hope for. We must content ourselves with commending it highly to all intelligent persons without distinction.

It is gotten up in a manner worthy of the subject; it is a masterpiece of the bookmakers' art. Such creamy paper, such clean-cut, clear-faced type, such becoming head pieces that tell the stories of the chapters, such an inviting and satisfying volume is rare. It comes from an Edinburgh house, and we recommend it to the bookmakers and book readers of America.

A General History of the Christian Era. For Catholic Colleges and Reading Circles and for Self-Instruction. Vol. I. The Papacy and the Empire. By *A. Guggenberger, S. J.*, Professor of History at Canisius' College, Buffalo, N. Y. 8vo, pp. 447, with maps. St. Louis: Herder.

This work is to be in three volumes, treating of "The Papacy and

the Empire," "The Protest and Revolution" and "The Social Revolution," these titles being based on the character of the different periods. It has for its main object the history and development of the Teutonic race and its relations to other nations. The purely Roman history of the Christian era is treated by way of introduction.

The term *general* in the title is used in opposition to "ecclesiastical," "special," etc., because, although the books are confined to the most important period of the world's history, they contain all the features of general histories of this class.

The aim and spirit of the work is outlined in these words: "As Jesus Christ, the God Incarnate, is the centre of all history, so the divine institution of the Primacy of the Holy See and the independence of the Catholic Church is the centre of the history of the Christian era. Most of the great historical contests since the coming of Christ were waged around the rock of St. Peter. It is impossible to understand and appreciate the course of human events in its proper meaning and character without giving full consideration and weight to these two central facts of history."

As the title page announces, the work is intended to serve as a guide for Catholic college students, reading circles and for self-instruction. The author claims that "in the class-room it will serve the purpose of consecutive reading. The private student will find ample references to enlarge his reading on any historical question of importance within the period in which he may be interested. Reading circles will find more than sufficient matter for any number of essays or debates by consulting the book lists."

Some valuable suggestions are made in the beginning for the use of the book in the class-room.

The lists of books and magazines which the sections include are unusually large. The author very modestly announces that he does not hope to have produced a perfect work, because a perfect history within the compass of this book is impossible; but he does claim credit for patient and painstaking care. This is evident throughout, and we feel sure that the readers of the book will give to the author more credit than he claims.

POLITICAL ECONOMY. By *Charles E. Devas, M. A.*, Oxon. 12mo., VI.-662. Second Edition, rewritten and enlarged. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

There are two *a priori* arguments in favor of this book: it is one of the Stonyhurst Series, and it has reached the second edition. We presume that all who are interested in the subject, especially from the Catholic point of view, are acquainted with the excellencies of the work in the former edition; we shall therefore content ourselves with

noting the changes made in it. It has been very much enlarged and rewritten in many parts. It has been everywhere revised because of the many changes in laws, economic conditions and prevalent opinions since the first edition was published. Strict account has been kept of the main new books and periodicals on economics that have appeared in the meantime. The doctrines of the Austrian School and discussions on value have been so much developed, especially in America, as to require more attention than formerly. The teachings of Ruskin are now so much studied as to require a place in a guide book to economics. Questions of practical reform are constantly changing, and call for frequent revision.

It is noteworthy that several views which the author put forward in his first edition, and which were opposed to the current teaching of the time, have since been widely accepted as true. For example, that consumption requires almost as much study as production; that combination is just as "natural" a force as competition, and maybe just as powerful; that neither differential gains nor the law "of diminishing returns" are confined to agriculture. Above all, the main and central doctrine, that economic science is essentially ethical, has made great progress. This encourages the hope that anarchy and confusion may at last be followed by order and agreement.

Another encouraging sign for the author of a book like this is the practical movement for some of the reforms urged in it. Such movement was begun after the appearance of the first edition, notably in the legislative efforts to repress usury and fraud and to enforce the responsibility of the employer.

One of the highest compliments paid to the book is due to the *Methodist Times*, which says: "Space forbids us, as does the technical nature of the subject, to go into detail over the economic canons of Mr. Devas; suffice to say that they are arrived at by the light of nature and the light of Christian ethics, and that the Christian philosophy of life is everywhere definitely assumed. We heartily commend this manual to Protestants; it is economically sound, as well as economically progressive and Christian."

THE GREAT SUPPER OF GOD; or, Discourses on Weekly Communion. By *Rev. Stephen Coubé, S. J.* With appendix of Historical Doctrine and Other Important Statements Pertaining to the Subject. Translated from the French by Ida Griffiss. Edited by Rev. F. X. Brady, S. J. 16mo., pp. 255. New York: Benziger Brothers.

At the Twelfth Eucharistic Congress, which was held in August, 1899, at Lourdes, Father Coube, S. J., one of the foremost preachers of France, was invited by Bishop Doutreloux, of Liege, to deliver the evening discourses. Twenty Bishops and four thousand mem-

bers were in attendance, and the preacher selected for his subject, "Weekly Communion." In making this selection he had in mind not only the large audience which he saw before him, and for which he considered it most opportune, but that larger multitude scattered throughout the world which stood in still greater need of instruction on this important subject and which he hoped to reach through other channels. He tells us that he addressed himself chiefly to the second class, and for their benefit the discourses were soon brought out in book form. The first edition was quickly exhausted and a second was called for. The book now appears in English for the first time. The author tells us that it is not an apologetic work written to convince unbelievers, but an appeal to that body of Catholics whose name is legion; who although believing in the real presence of Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, nevertheless seldom approach Him.

He wishes to draw all persons to frequent communion, and he endeavors to prove that the weekly reception of the Blessed Sacrament is not only pleasing to our Divine Lord, but that it is supported by the constant tradition of the Church. In the first discourse he shows the advantages and necessity of communion; in the second he advocates weekly communion, and in the third he addresses himself directly to men because they seldomest approach the holy table.

In the appendices much valuable historical matter is supplied. We cannot better indicate the excellence of the book than by reproducing the words of one who knew it well and appreciated it:

"The 'Great Supper of God' is a book out of the beaten track, interesting, convincing, suggestive and devotional, and will surely be an efficient help to members of the Eucharistic League, Perpetual Adoration, Holy Hour, Confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament, Apostleship of Prayer, Holy Name Societies; in fact, to every one who wishes to have a just value of Holy Communion. Religious communities who practice frequent communion will be greatly encouraged by the reading of this volume."

FAITH AND FOLLY. By the *Right Rev. Mgr. John S. Vaughan*, author of "Thought for All Times," "Life After Death," etc. 12mo., pp. x., 485. London: Burns & Oates. Received from Benziger Brothers, New York.

The author thus explains his title: "We call it 'Faith and Folly' because our chief purpose in publishing it is to strike a blow, however feeble, however unworthy and however ill-directed, in defense of the Faith, and of the supernatural structure erected by Faith, against attacks of modern infidelity and the assaults of the worldly wise."

Most of the chapters have already appeared in reviews or magazines, but that does not prevent them from fitting well together and

forming a united whole that covers the field pretty completely. The right reverend author is particularly suited for work of this kind, and it is a rare qualification. He writes clearly; picks the arguments of his opponents to pieces coolly and completely; illustrates aptly, and concludes logically. It is easy to hunt while the chase is across open fields, but quite difficult when the game leads the hunter over fences, across ditches, through forests which the sun hardly penetrates and in which the path is hidden with tangled undergrowth. So it is comparatively easy to argue with an opponent who will meet you in the open and use the ordinary weapons of intellectual warfare; but difficult indeed when one objects, asserts, denies and sneers, following no law and ignoring logic. Then the game leaves the open field.

This book is very useful at this time, when the old song is being sung over and over again with slight variations, but always with the same refrain: "Science contradicts Faith." Mgr. Vaughan tears the mask from such seeming learning which pretends to make this discovery, and calls it by its true name, folly.

Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst. Von *Franz Xavier Kraus.* Vol. II. Herder: Freiburg and St. Louis. Price, $2.10 net.

In the present instalment of his great History of Christian Art (which bears the peculiar designation of volume second, part second, first half), Mgr. Kraus treats of art in the early days of the Renaissance. Like the preceeding parts, the book is brought forth in magnificent style, copiously embellished with illustrations, 132 in number. Being written for the people, the author has avoided technicalities, and his book is as interesting as a romance.

When we consider how intimately the history of art is bound up with that of the Catholic Church, the fostering mother of all arts and sciences, we cannot but deeply regret that there is not a single book in the English language in which the story of what the Church has done for art is presented to the eye with anything approaching the clearness with which it appears in the pages of Kraus. There undoubtedly would be a large sale for just such a work as this if issued in our language.

The Scale (or Ladder) of Perfection. Written by *Walter Hilton.* With an Essay on the Spiritual Life of Mediæval England. By the Rev. J. B. Dalgairns, Priest of the Oratory. 12mo., lx., 355. London: Art and Book Co. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This ascetical work is certainly stamped with the approval of time. Its author, Walter Hilton, died in 1395. His "Scale of Perfection"

is found in five MSS. in the British Museum alone. Many editions of it were published in the latter part of the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth. One printer brought out three editions of it, in 1494, 1519 and 1525. It was published again in 1659, 1672 and 1679. In our own times two editions have appeared, in 1869 and 1870. Finally this latest edition is placed before the public. It has had a remarkable history. It was written by an obscure author in a small house of Augustinian canons in Nottinghamshire, and addressed to the most solitary of all the varieties of monastic life, and yet it has been reprinted for several centuries and recommended as a book of devotion, not for the cloister alone, but for good Christians in the world. Surely it is well worthy of the attention of all who are interested in the spiritual life. They will find it a clear, practical guide, easily understood and easily followed.

HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF HARTFORD. By *Rev. James O'Donnell.* Royal 8vo., pp. 473. Illustrated. Boston: D. H. Hurd Co.

We welcome most heartily the history of any diocese, because we believe that we shall never have the complete history of the Catholic Church in this country until the history of each diocese has been written. The number of such histories has been increasing more rapidly in recent years, and the good example of those who do the work is having the proper effect. These diocesan histories are worthy of special honor, because they are generally busy men who devote their leisure time to gathering material for the future history of the Church in the United States. New England has been singularly fortunate in this respect, having recently surprised the country with two large volumes of the Church in that section. The present volume is a reprint from that history and it is in every way admirable: full, clear, well arranged, well illustrated and showing a progress that is remarkable. Those who wish to keep pace with the growth of the Church in this country must study these diocesan histories, and they should get possession of them at once, because they may go out of print in the near future.

GESCHICHTE DER WELTLITERATUR. Von *Alexander Baumgartner, S. J.* Vol. IV. Herder: St. Louis and Freiburg. Price, $3.75 net.

The fourth volume of Father Baumgartner's valuable "History of the Literature of the World" is devoted to the Christian literature of the Greek and Latin peoples. It is a comprehensive survey of the literary activity of the Greco-Latin world as inspired by Christian principles and sentiments, from the apostolic times to modern days. The distinguished author is here more than ever at home, and tells

the story of the Christian regeneration of letters with an enthusiasm that is truly infectious. The volume is all the more important, since in the ordinary histories of literature the achievements of Christian writers are dealt with in a very superficial and unsatisfactory manner. There is no longer any doubt that Father Baumgartner's great history will be recognized as away and beyond the best work of its kind that has appeared in any language.

APOLOGETIK ALS SPEKULATIVE GRUNDLEGUNG DER THEOLOGIE. Von *Dr. Al. v. Schmid,* o. ö Professor der Apologetik an der Universität München. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. Price, $1.60.

This little octavo volume of 350 pages may be pronounced a complete, up-to-date Apology of Christianity. It is the work of one who understands his subject thoroughly, who has read all that has been written on every side of it, and who knows how to express his thoughts with force and precision. We hope to see it soon in an English dress. It is eminently a book for the times.

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